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Lost Lemuria—Fresh Evidence?

P. JOSEPH

Among the Tamils there has been a persistent tradition that their ancestors originally belonged to a continent, large portions of which were swallowed up by the sea. Details are given of all the countries of the lost continent with their names and areas, their mountains and rivers. Mention is also made of the specific regions that disappeared at each stage.

The tradition was committed to writing in detail after the 10th cent. A.D. by commentators on the Tamil classics. The first to record it in detail was Nakkirar in his commentary on Iraiyanar's Ahapporul. Nachchinarkkiniyar and Adiarkkunallar merely followed suit. To deny that in the course of ages the puranic tale gathered accretions would be rash; but to try and pick them out would be equally rash. This is the fate of all ancient lore. Anyway one may reasonably accept the basic fact of a land submerged by the ocean in times gone by, — which is the hard core of the tradition. To it scientists like Haeckel, Topinard and Huxley lent their support and writers like Samuel Laing (*Antiquity of Man*), Holderness (*Peoples and Problems of India*) and Scott-Eliott (*Lost Lemuria*) paid more than passing attention.

Confirmatory evidence pointing to a lost continent seems to arise from an enquiry into the original home of the dark races of the world. William Howells, in his excellent book *Mankind So Far**, does confess that the dark-skinned peoples present a formidable puzzle especially in regard to their place of origin. He has, nevertheless, made

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a bold bid against heavy odds. His study covers not only the Australian and the Negro races but also the Negrito, which is only a specialised descendant of the latter. Incidentally, the dark peoples comprise the main ethnic group, the black, which is only one of the three branches of Homo sapiens, the other two being the white and the yellow.

To start with the present distribution of the dark races, one notices traces of the Australians in Arabia (on the southern shore), India, Indonesia and Melanesia, while in Australia they dwell in the purest state, unmixed with any other element. The Negritoes are found mixed with other elements in India, Indonesia and Melanesia and in an undisturbed state in the Philippines, the Andamans and the Congo basin. While the Negroes live mostly unmixed in the Congo forests, they have fused with other races in almost all the rest of Africa and in Indonesia as well as Melanesia.

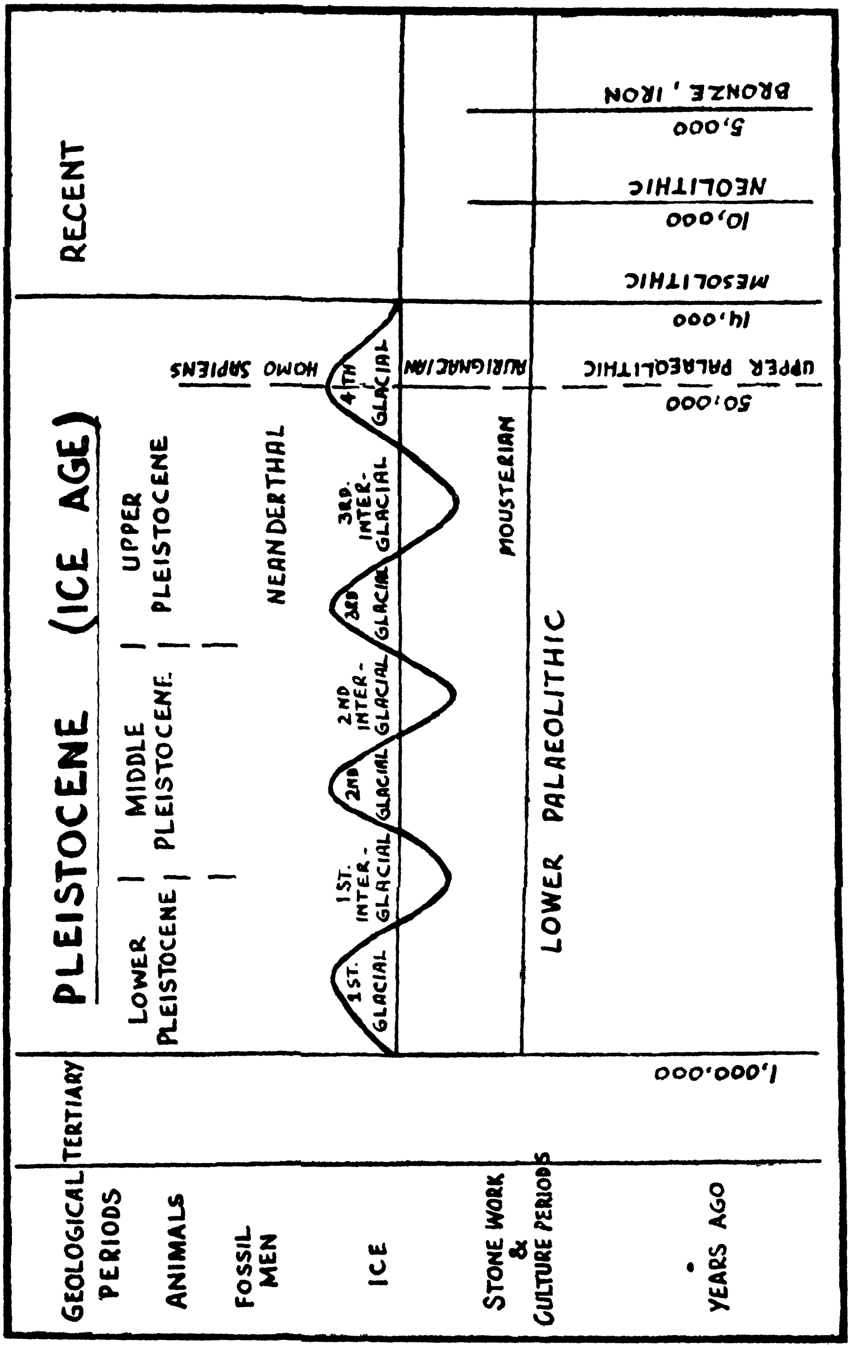
One thing that stands out prominently in the pattern of distribution of these races is that the weaker one, namely, the one in a lower stage of culture has been pushed into the most inhospitable places or refuge areas by the stronger, which in some cases has actually surrounded the weaker. For example, the Negritoes live in New Guinea and the Congo completely hemmed in by the Negroes. The Australians, everywhere except in Australia, have been quite absorbed by the superior elements, for instance, both by the Negrito and the white in India, and by the Negrito, the Negro and the Mongoloid in the eastern islands.

Howells does not consider Australia as the original home of the Australian race. Neither does he think that the Negroes and the Negritoes originally dwelt in Africa. In tracing the original home of these races by working back from the places where they are now found and by studying the pattern of their fusion and distribution in mixed areas, Howells arrives at the conclusion that these races started from India. He quite soundly argues that

the Australians in view of the fact that they live in a most primitive state, in fact in a palaeolithic stage of civilization, should have been the first to move out, as otherwise they would have had to penetrate through a race in a higher stage of development, which they could not have done. By the same criterion the Negritoes should have preceded the Negroes, as the former are only a class of high grade hunters, whereas, the latter boast of a neolithic stage of culture.

Before we come to the time of departure of these races to their destinations, it is necessary to have an idea of the last of the geological ages, namely, the Pleistocene or the Ice age and its correlation with archaeological times. The following diagram should help.

The periods shown in the sketch have been worked out primarily for Europe, but they are applicable to the tropics as well with the proviso that the European glacial periods correspond to those of heavy inundation in the tropics. The Ice Age is really a misleading name. While the glaciers covered almost the whole of Europe, the climate was extremely cold and all living things migrated to the warm lands of the south. But when the ice sheets melted the temperature became extremely warm and flora and fauna typical of the warm belt were seen in northern Europe. Hence the Pleistocene was really an age of extremes of climate, with the extremes getting moderate as time progressed. Thus the last glacial period was not so cold as the previous ones and the last inter-glacial not so warm as its predecessors. As can be seen from the diagram, four times ice covered Europe and the warm periods in between, namely, the inter-glacials were three. At present the earth is passing through a warm stage following the fourth glaciation ; whether the modern phase is an inter-glacial, only to be followed by another long cold spell, or we have seen the end of glaciation, none can say.


GEOLOGICAL PERIODS
ANIMALS
FOSSIL MEN
ICE
STONE WORK & CULTURE PERIODS
YEARS AGO
TERTIARY
1,000,000
PLEISTOCENE (ICE AGE)
LOWER PLEISTOCENE
MIDDLE PLEISTOCENE
UPPER PLEISTOCENE
NEANDERTHAL
HOMO SAPIENS
1ST. GLACIAL
1ST. INTER-GLACIAL
2ND GLACIAL
2ND INTER-GLACIAL
3RD GLACIAL
3RD. INTER-GLACIAL
4TH GLACIAL
LOWER PALAEOLITHIC
MOUSTERIAN
AURIGNACIAN
UPPER PALAEOLITHIC
50,000
14,000
RECENT
MESOLITHIC
10,000
NEOLITHIC
5,000
BRONZE, IRON

Now, to follow Howells in fixing the time of the migrations of the dark races, we have already noticed his contention that the Australians were the first to move out of India. They have left some traces of their journey. Eugene Dubois, who threw a bomb-shell into anthropological circles with Pithecanthropus Erectus, popularly known as Java man, had found also two other skulls at Wadjak in Java. They were those of a male and a female and were found in a level equivalent to the upper palaeolithic in Europe. They belonged definitely to the ancestors of the modern Australian. These Australians, hence, must have left the Asiatic mainland at least in the upper palaeolithic period, which corresponds to the final phase of the Pleistocene. Their progress was apparently slow. To reach Australia, their final resting place, they had to cross the sea quite a few times and should have done so in mesolithic times, since man acquired boats as an accessory to his travels only in the middle stone age. The Negritoes should have migrated from the mainland after the Australians in the mesolithic age, as they should have had good boats indeed to cross over to the Andamans and Africa. Finally the Negroes should have followed the others in neolithic times with their garden culture.

Plausible as this story appears, it has its drawbacks and Howells himself was conscious that there was some loop-hole. First of all the Australians have to be given boats to reach their present abode, and it is rather difficult to establish their knowledge of seamanship from the kind of life which they now lead. Secondly, if the theory were true, there should have been some trace of the Negro race in India, but there is none. Howells is hard put to explain this contingency but he rather naively dismisses the whole problem by saying in effect that the Negroes left the shores of India *en masse* and thus vanished completely from the scene. Thirdly, the most serious objection to the theory is that the Negrito arrival in Africa in mesolithic and the Negro arrival in neolithic times run counter to

other evidence. They do not, for example, fit in with the fact that two Negro skulls were discovered in the cave of Grimaldi in the Riviera in upper palaeolithic levels. These skulls obviously belonged to Negroes who crossed over from northern Africa to Europe. Moreover, if the dark races arrived in Africa as late as the time allotted to them, how can the present distribution of races in the continent be explained in relation to what is known regarding the migrations of the white race ? In the third inter-glacial the Neanderthals, a branch of Hominids, with their mousterian lower palaeolithic culture had spread all over Europe and north Africa and the white race of Homo sapiens had actually arrived by the end of the 3rd inter-glacial in Africa and Asia at the outer fringe of the Neanderthal stronghold, ready to go in numbers into Europe and establish there their superior aurignacian upper palaeolithic culture. This white race consisted chiefly of the Cro-Magnon and Combe Capelle peoples, named after the places in France where their remains were discovered. At the same time that the white race marched into Europe it descended from the north and east into Africa. If the dark races came into Africa long after the white race, they should have been responsible for a reversal of the present pattern of distribution of races in the continent. The whites should then have been in the Congo basin and the Negroes and Negritoes should predominate in northern and eastern Africa, whereas actually things are the other way round. The white element occupies northern and eastern Africa largely ; as we proceed towards Central Africa the zone of mixture extends as a belt almost all round the inhospitable equatorial forests, into which the Negroes and the Negritoes have been pushed and where they dwell without any disturbance from the whites.

In the search for an alternative theory we are forced to acknowledge that the dark races, in view of their stages of cultural development and their distribution, could not have originated in either Asia or Africa or Australia as we

know the continents today. If we make them start from the ends of the arc, the Negritoes and Negroes from Africa and the Australians from Australia, we are beset with the same difficulties as Howells encounters. We have to give boats to races who apparently did not know of their existence and we have to upset not only the mode of distribution of the races but also the relative chronology of their migrations.

While discussing the question of the original home of the American Indians, Howells avers that he is not going to fish up the lost continent of Atlantis, having no space for sheer invention. However, in discussing Indonesia he admits that it looks like a bulge of Asia, that the islands enjoy Asiatic flora and fauna, and also that they have somewhat sunk and got partly flooded and finally appear to have broken away from the mainland in late Pleistocene times. This shrewd guess regarding the extension of the Asiatic mainland in times gone by could lead to a suitable theory for the original home of the dark races. An admitted geological fact is the uplift of the Himalayas in late Tertiary, a fact which Howells and a good many other anthropologists use for fixing approximately the *point de la depart* from ape to man. This geological upset, which pushed up the world's loftiest mountain range to a height of over 29,000 ft. could hardly have happened without causing any comparable disturbance elsewhere. Perhaps, the very nature of the age that followed, namely, the Ice age, with its vast changes of temperature in the north and its huge periodical inundations in the tropics, was a direct consequence of the Himalayan uplift. In the Tertiary a land mass could have connected Asia, Africa and Australia. It would have sunk as the Himalayas shot up, and would have got submerged by the sea as the inundations poured unceasingly and as the sea-level rose. Apparently then the islands of the Indian ocean and of Oceania came into existence, and the shores of Africa, Asia and Australia came to take more or less the shape they have at present.

The Indian Ocean is admittedly young in relation to the Atlantic and the Pacific and not so deep as the other two. The land bridge, therefore, that once joined the three continents involved must have ceased to exist in Pleistocene times. Of course, the process of sinking of land and invasion by sea was gradual, though not quite continuous, for the deluges occurred with three interruptions.

There is another angle to the problem. Were the waters now locked up in the polar and the mountain glaciers to be released, the sea, geologists estimate, would rise by about 200 ft. During the Pleistocene, at the height of the last glaciation, i.e. the fourth glacial, the sea-level, as compared with the present day, was approximately 300 ft. lower. It must have been far lower still in the first glacial, since glaciation was severer as we go backwards. A very much larger land mass, therefore, must have been visible at the beginning of the Ice Age than subsequently. As glaciation became less intense with the progress of time, more and more land was getting submerged. This process was inherent in the very pattern of Pleistocene glaciation and, hence, went on quite independent of, though vastly aided by, the Himalayan uplift as well as the tropical inundations.

If the dark races lived in the land that was sinking, they would have gone forward to places where they now are; and obviously they went by land. No doubt the Australians, being the most primitive, would have left first. It can even be conceded that while these changes were taking place the Australians were already to a large extent in the places in which they are now found. They would have been followed by the Negritoes and finally the Negroes. On this hypothesis the existence of the Negritoes in the Andamans, completely isolated, is easily understood. Here apparently was a batch that was caught napping while the sea was closing in on them all round. The total isolation of the Andaman Negritoes

right in the middle of the ocean actually gives added point to the plausibility of the theory of a lost land area. Moreover, with the suggestion put forward here to postulate that the Negroes did not proceed towards India but only to Africa and Melanesia involves no difficulty.

As regards the timing of the appearance of the dark races in Africa, they would have been there before the end of the third inter-glacial well ahead of the arrival of the whites in northern and eastern Africa. The Negritoes should have preceded the Negroes who must have been in a higher stage of cultural development to have been able to surround the former. The whites having been in a yet higher stage of culture pushed the Negroes and the Negritoes into Central Africa, thus causing the present pattern of racial distribution. At that time the Negroes could not have attained a neolithic stage of culture ; that apparently developed *in situ* much later.

Incidentally, there has obviously been a confusion between the tradition of Lost Lemuria and the one regarding the Tamil Sangams or Academic periods which were marked by lands being swallowed up by the sea. The Sangam tradition too was put down in writing after the 10th cen. A.D. by the commentators on the old classics. The events covered by the two traditions can have no possible connection in point of time. While the continent south of India was lost in palaeolithic times, the washing away of the sangams by the sea must have been comparatively recent. Palaeolithic man's culture was hardly more than rudimentary. He lived in caves and gathered food. His mind was immature and language elementary. None can seriously maintain that man was advanced enough then to produce works of such literary excellence as would pass scrutiny by a board of censors. Cultivation of literature and allied arts and crafts postulates the existence of special social classes that did not directly produce food and that, therefore, could be maintained by

the community only when the economy had so advanced as to bear the burden. That stage is noticed among ancient peoples only when they had started living in cities during the bronze age. It is then that we find written records. Some writers even today affirm that the first Tamil Sangam at least was washed away during the Ice Age. The cause of Tamil is not served by making claims that are palpably unsound. The greatness and antiquity of Tamil literature can be fully assured without pushing it down to such dizzy depths as the Pleistocene.

The trouble with the hypothesis of a lost land is that it side-tracks the issue; instead of explaining things it postpones the explanation until such time as it can be tested by the necessary scientific data. It, nevertheless, opens the way to look at the dispersion of early man in a new light and is calculated to stimulate interest in the study of Geology, Palaeontology, Oceanography, Marine Archaeology and allied sciences, specially as applied to Africa, Asia and Australia and the ocean in between, — branches of study all too meagrely indulged in so far. Meanwhile a probe into the folk-lore of the Negroes, the Negritoes and the Australians might yield results about an old abode from which their forebears fled before an on-rushing sea. Such a finding would admirably confirm the basic element of the Tamil puranic tradition. In any case the kind of indirect evidence on Lost Lemuria, thrown up by an enquiry starting from the present pattern of distribution of the dark races, should by no means be unwelcome.

The Need for Linguistics

V. I. SUBRAMONIAM

Linguistics is not altogether a new science to Indians. It is simply a modern grammar, founded on certain objective principles. Linguists of the Western world consider an Indian, Panini, as their fore-runner. They owe Panini the concept of zero in linguistic analysis and the algebraic brevity which characterize their linguistic descriptions. Linguistics unlike old grammars is not intuitive. The grammarian of olden days did not explain how he arrived at the various sets of rules. It may have been by trial and error. But in all these years we have faithfully followed his prescriptions not knowing how he has prescribed them. For the first time in the history of grammar, linguistics demonstrates clearly the objective method of evolving a grammar. In this method, the linguist does not imitate or project one grammatical system on another language, but arrive at a grammar according to the nature of the language.

In the U.S.A. this science has acquired an unprecedented importance in recent years. The Government, particularly the Defence Department of that country, encourages linguistic studies for two reasons. They feel that the army personnel should know foreign languages for effective contacts with foreigners. The teaching programmes designed by linguists being easy, they are immensely popular with soldiers. The second reason is that linguistic principles help the secret service men to break the secret codes which are important for military purposes. Another institution which helps in the growth of linguistic studies is the Church. Still there are quite a number of tribal languages in distant jungles of Africa and South

America or Australia, unknown to scholars. Evangelists in America have a strange attraction towards these people, and most of them go there after a sound training in linguistics. Invariably a tape recorder operated on battery would also accompany them. They establish contacts with the natives and lure them through a contact man to speak into the microphone. Slowly and steadily these missionaries pile up words of the strange language and evolve a grammar. They devise a script also if that language did not have one before. The very first thing they do after this is to bring the word of God to the people by translating the Bible. The third institution which promotes linguistic studies in U.S.A. is the University. It feels that the old type English grammars in use in schools are a result of the projection of Greek and Latin grammars. They are not based on actual facts found in the English language. Teachers attribute the unnaturalness of the grammatical categories and irregularities in the English grammars to their imitation of Greek grammatical models.

It is also said that an equal importance is given to linguistic studies in Russia as in the U.S.A.

Linguistics though greatly developed in the 20th century, has roots in the 18th and 19th centuries. It has grown out of comparative and historical studies of languages. The chief contributors to its theoretical development are mostly from America, Switzerland, Denmark, Czechoslovakia and Russia. It has developed a rigorous method for describing languages useful for further linguistic research and technological advancement.

What then is its descriptive method ? A linguist to start with, undergoes training in certain basic courses. He is taught the different set up of languages, their sounds and their morphemes, their words and their grammatical categories. He may not know these languages in the sense we now use that term i.e. to read and write but he will

know their structures. To become a linguist it is not necessary to know many languages. Once it was so believed but not now. One fundamental idea which is drilled into a linguist is that the structure of each language differs from the other and the grammar of one cannot be extended blindly to another. He will have none of the common phobia that a language other than his cannot be comprehended. The Swahili language of distant Africa or the Maori language of New Zealand tribes form as much an important subject for his study as English or Sanskrit. To him no language is superior to the other and no dialect inferior to the other. Sometimes an unimportant dialect spoken by a few on the fringes of a language-area may throw light on a linguistic riddle presented by a fully developed language.

His main concern is the spoken language at a particular time level. Even in his analysis of written language he adopts the same technique on the assumption that it was also once spoken.

The linguist with his training and background goes to a language community, usually speaking a strange language and selects a man of clear speech as a sample for his study. He speaks through a contact man in the initial stages and records the basic words like face, nose, hands etc. of the new language. Usually he carries with him a tape recorder to record at once the words with their meaning. From the tape he transcribes those words in a special script called phonetic script. This is a special kind of script devised by the International Phonetic Association for recording speech forms as accurately as possible. The recorder provides him with certain advantages for transcription. He can play and replay the tapes to verify his transcription without recourse to the human speaker. The human speaker might hesitate and sometimes even refuse to repeat the same word several times. The repeated forms of the human speaker, may sometimes vary and

thus cause embarrassment to the investigator. If the nature of the place is such that a tape recorder could not be carried then the linguist takes down the words *in situ* in phonetic scripts. Thus he gathers a fairly large number of words and sentences and arranges them in the necessary order for further analysis.

Not all sounds recorded in the phonetic script are meaningful in that language. There may be sounds which are produced by the speaker due to physical indisposition. There may be sounds which can be displaced by another word pavaḷam — coral which can be pronounced as pavaḷam. Still there are sounds which occur only in certain positions. To illustrate this the famous English phonetician, Daniel Jones refers to the Tamil sound k. Pronounce clearly and naturally the following Tamil words and see how the k sounds in *kaarru* — wind, *nakam* — nail, *tanku* — to stay, *paakam* — division, *aruki* — rare. If you hear minutely the sound of k when you pronounce the five words given, k^1 is without voice i.e. there is no humming noise when you pronounce with your ears closed. In *nakam* for k^2 the air stream does not stop but comes out with a friction noise and it is voiceless. In *tanku* — to stay, k^3 is voiced and the breath stops. In *paakam* — division k^4 has friction with voicing. In *aruki* — rare, k^5 is also a fricative but distinctly fronter than k^2 and voiceless. All these five sounds are actually altered forms of one sound. Note their positions of occurrence and environments. Each one is different from the other and no two sound segments occur in the same environment. k^3 occurs after the nasal in the medial position. k^2 occurs after monosyllables containing short vowels and k^4 occurs after monosyllables containing long vowels. k^5 occurs before the front vowel "i" and k^1 in other places not specified above. All these sounds can be written by one symbol for they are actually one sound in different manifestations. That sound is called phoneme and its manifestations are called allophones or related sounds. No

alphabet is and can be phonetic. If it is so then it will be quite unmanageable for human beings as a writing system. If you were to provide a letter each for every sound we utter, the letters of our alphabet would be innumerable. It is not a defect if an alphabet is not phonetic. But it would be a serious defect if an alphabet were not phonemic i.e. if it did not represent all meaningful sounds of a language. When a linguist says " meaningful sounds " he includes also the pitch level of the sentence, the stress etc. Here is an English sentence, " He is a boy. " If it were a statement, the pitch level would be uniform until the last word and then drop below. The same sentence could be converted into a question if the falling pitch were raised in the final word. If you listened to a Chinese you will observe he speaks his language in a sing-song fashion. It is called tone. In their language it has meaning. The pitch, stress and tone which play a significant part in languages were not taken seriously by old grammarians : but linguistics does.

After discovering the phonemes of a language the linguist proceeds to the next level of analysis called morphology. In this he tries to find out the sequence of phonemes which are meaningful in that language. The method he adopts is similar in nature to the previous analysis. He usually arranges the words having similar shape and meaning into paradigms like walks, walked, will walk, walking (participle), walking (gerund). In this paradigm a part of each word has similar shape and similar meaning. It is the portion up to k — to step slowly. But, walks — step with reference to present time, is different from walked — step with reference to past time by its indication of past and present time. When you subtract that which is similar in form and meaning in the two words, -s and -ed remain denoting present and past time respectively. In other words, the linguist looks for the same item having identical meaning in the group of words and cuts them. Thus he gathers all meaningful items of a language.

Applying the same principle he followed in grouping sounds into phonemes, he groups these word-bits into item or morpheme and related items or allomorphs. In morphology the linguist limits himself to the analysis of words. He talks about bits of words and their relation. But in syntax which is the next level of analysis he deals with the inter-relations of words. In syntax the Americans have not advanced very much. There is a school of thought in that country which does not differentiate between morphology and syntax. The early Tamil grammarian Tolkaappiar too, seems to have had such a view.

This completes the grammar of the language. A necessary concomitant to linguistic analysis is a lexicon. Usually it takes two years for a linguist to produce a good grammar.

The science of linguistics is not limited to describing languages only. It includes other studies. Description is only one part of linguistics. Other branches are study of the language of children, aphasics and analysis of the language which is in contact with another. The development of the language of children throws light on the development of phonemes and morphemes of the language. The study of the language of aphasics enlightens the nature of language in its dissolution. It is said in aphasics the manner of language dissolution is just the reverse of the language acquisition in children. The last branch of linguistic study is about the change a language undergoes when it comes into contact with another language. Malayalam spoken in Kasarkode is different from Malayalam spoken in Trivandrum. It is mostly because of its contact with Konkani and Tulu and probably also with Kanarese. Changes in the history of languages, to a great extent, are due to the influence of other languages through direct or indirect contact.

These four branches constitute linguistics and it is unnecessary to say here that a wide range of knowledge,

training in allied disciplines and a particular kind of personal capability are essential for a linguist. This is also an expensive branch of study. One may legitimately ask here whèther such a study is worth its expense. Indeed it is. Its varied uses will justify the need for recognizing and encouraging this study.

A general knowledge of linguistics will create an atmosphere of language tolerance in our country. A professional linguist or a dilettante cannot have any linguistic narrowness just as a medical doctor cannot distinguish between his patients say, on the basis of caste. We have to-day developed a secret pride for our language. It is good if it does not lead us to look down on other languages. But in actuality it does. Linguists treat all languages as media of communication and their preference for a language is only on the basis of its effectiveness in communication at maximum efficiency and minimum cost of labour or money.

Some of the prevalent conceptions about language such as the concept of purity of language will vanish by the spread of linguistic knowledge. No linguist will think that languages can exist without borrowing. It is the inherent nature of languages to borrow and there is no language known to man which has not borrowed.

Translation of official papers and scientific treatises has become a necessity in India. Human translations are slow and cost heavily. Machine translations attempted in the western countries have as their basis an accurate and thorough description of the language to be translated and the language into which it is translated.

With the aid of the sound changes that occur in the basic vocabulary like 'face' 'nose' and 'hand' in related languages, a linguist in America has devised a method of determining the age of languages. This method commonly known as Lexico-statistics is now being tested widely in

that country. It can throw some light on the history of our languages.

Language is a reliable marker of culture. The race migrations on the basis of language evidence have been traced fairly successfully by American linguists particularly, in the countries speaking the Malayo-polynesian languages. This procedure may serve some useful purpose in ethnological and historical research in our country.

To enhance the effectiveness of communication linguistic knowledge is extensively made use of in the western countries. It is said that the Voice of America in the Czech language is very popular because even in minute details it is very near to the standard speech of Czechoslovakia. Our radio organisation can take this hint and make their relays more effective at home and abroad.

In coded communication the code consisting of symbols play a large part in the effective transmission of the message. The organization of these codes are largely based on linguistic principles. To break these codes also linguistic knowledge is necessary.

The success in the treatment of stuttering, loss of word power and difficulty of speech depends to a great measure on how the individuals react to their respective languages. Knowledge of linguistics is as essential for the physician who treats these diseases as his training in medicine.

Among the various uses of linguistics, its utility in language teaching stands foremost. The teaching methods devised by linguists have been tested in other countries and found efficient.

By this method, the teaching of any foreign language is organized in the following way. Let us take the teaching of Russian. A good linguist, making use of his own or others' analysis will explain to the class phonemes, morphemes and word order of the Russian languages. In some

cases this linguist may not know to converse fluently in that language. This does not affect the efficiency of his teaching provided he knows the nature of the language well. This class of his is supplemented by a class for drill in which a native Russian will be asked to give words and sentences from his language which will be imitated and memorized by the students. This drill class generally will be for six hours per week and the linguist teacher will guide it. It is called the mim-mem method. A student spending three to four hours in daily lessons could speak Russian as naturally as the native Russian and write fluently within the short period of nine months. Is it not well worth considering for our schools and colleges where we currently face an acute problem of teaching English and Hindi ?

This method can be extended even for the teaching of the mother tongue where the dialect differences are pronounced. The Malayalam taught in schools at Trivandrum is very near to the dialect spoken by the members of the Nayar community. A student of the Pulaya community having a distinct dialect of Malayalam would carry over his dialect habits when he speaks his school dialect. If the teacher is a linguist he can easily help the student to divest him from his native speech habits. This is possible by undertaking an analysis of the speech of the Pulaya and finding out the difference in the phonemic and morphemic set-up in that dialect. The differing elements would indicate the spot where the young Pulaya student may experience difficulty in adjustment. The teacher can explain to the student the causes of his difficulties and the method of correction. Linguistics thus holds a great promise for teaching.

In a country where there are 14 major languages and over 450 dialects, with a constitution assuring protection and preservation of all languages and cultures, is not the popularization of linguistics a matter of necessity ?

The Suffix 'Cin' (சின்) in Cankam Tamil

A. SATHASIVAM.

To a student of Tamil Philology the study of the verbal forms in Caṅkam Tamil and the changes which have occurred in the subsequent periods is very fascinating. The inflexional forms in which verbs occur in modern Tamil are very different from the forms in which these verbs functioned in the earlier periods. The modern verbs indicate time with the help of certain particles which are easily separated from the root and of other particles functioning as expletives, i.e., those which denote gender, etc. But it is not so easy to separate such functional particles in the verbs as employed during the Caṅkam period. The past adverbial participial forms of today were the finite forms in those early days. This can be proved by analysing some of the verbal forms used at that time. In this brief article, I propose to take the form which ended in ciṉ (சின்) and indicate in what manner the finite verbs functioned in Caṅkam Tamil.

When we analyse the various verbal forms of that period and classify them, we find that all the verbs may be classified under two heads : Those roots forming the past adverbial participle in -u such as √ vā > vantu (வந்து) √ cey > ceytu (செய்து) may be said to belong to the First conjugation. Those roots forming the past adverbial participle in -i- such as √ āṭ > āṭi (ஆடி) √ kūv > kūvi (கூவி) may be said to belong to the Second conjugation.

But some of the verbs in the Caṅkam works had also the inflexional terminations similar to the expletives which

are used in modern Tamil verbs. The verbs ending in –ciṉ may be cited as example of the verbs which took particles at the end. The Tamil grammarians did not include –ciṉ in the list of the personal terminations. The author of *Tolkāppiyam* includes it in the list of the expletives of the second person :

மியா இக மோ மதி இகும் சின் என்னும்
ஆவயின் ஆறும் முன்னிலை அசைச்சொல்.

(*Tol. Col.* Cū. 276).

But in the following *cūttiram,* he states that –ciṉ may also be used with the first and the third persons.

அவற்றுள்,
இகுமும் சின்னும் ஏனை இடத்தொடும்
தகுநிலையுடைய என்மனார் புலவர்.

(*Tol. Col.* Cū. 277).

It should be noted that the author of *Nannūl* includes –ciṉ in the list of the expletives of all the three persons (Cūttiram 373).

To examine the functions of –ciṉ in the verbs of Caṅkam Tamil, it will not be out of place to examine the –miṉ termination which often appears as the termination of the second person imperative plural verbs. The close affinity between the expletive –ciṉ and the termination –miṉ may be noted. Puṇarmiṉ (Narr. 224) is an example of verbs ending in –miṉ. This form may be split into 'puṇarm' and 'iṉ', i.e., puṇarum > puṇarm + iṉ on the analogy of puṇarumār (Narr. 304) > puṇarmār (Pari. 11-67). In this case the Mas-Fem. termination –ār is suffixed to the Old Tamil verb ending in '–um'.

puṇarum + ār = puṇarumār

Similarly the second person termination –iṉ is suffixed to the Old Tamil verb ending in –um.

Ex. : ēṟṟum + iṉ = ēṟṟumiṉ (Patir. 2-8).
utavum + iṉ = utavumiṉ (*Patir* 2-8).

Thus when we analyse the -mār and -miṉ ending forms, it is clear that -ār and -iṉ are the personal terminations of the Third person Mas-Fem. plural and the Second person plural respectively. The initial -m of *-mār* and *-min* is not part of the personal terminations but the final letter of the Old Tamil verbal termination *-um*.

From what we have pointed out in the previous paragraph, it is clear that *-in* is a personal termination of the Second person. Now let us compare the following two words ending in -iṉ

Ex. : 1. utavumiṉ (*Patiṛ.*; 2-8).

Ex. : 2. vanticiṉ (*Aimk.*; 175).

In Ex. 1, iṉ is part of the termination -miṉ

In Ex. 2, iṉ is part of the expletive -ciṉ.

According to Tolkappiyar both the termination -miṉ and the expletive -ciṉ refer to the second person. Since -miṉ could be split into ' (u)m ' and ' iṉ ' it is likely that -ciṉ also consists of two parts : -c and -iṉ. We know that -iṉ is the termination denoting the Second person. If that is so, then the letter -c which forms the initial element of the form -ciṉ must have been a separate particle which might have been a part of another particle which had come in between the base and the termination -iṉ.

It is interesting to note that the commentators of the Caṅkam texts and of *Tolkāppiyam* refer to two forms -ciṉ and -iciṉ while the grammarians, both Tolkappiyar and Pavaṇanti refer to only one form -ciṉ. Naccinarkkiniyar commenting on cūttiram 297 of *Tolkāppiyam* says: "என முற்றுச்சொல் சின் அசைக்கண் படுதலும் கொள்க." While commenting on the very next cūttiram (298) he says: "காதனம்மா நீ மற்றிசினே என இசினும்" Thus

Naccinarkkiniyar refers to both -cin̲ and -icin̲. Mr. Auvai Duraiswamippillai commenting on the form 'per̲r̲icin̲' (Puram 11) says that '-icin̲ is an expletive of the second person. Here it is used in the Third person'.[1] The late Dr. Saminathaiyar observes: "icin̲ is generally used with the verbs of the first person in such forms as var̤ipaṭal cūr̤nticin̲ (K.T. 11) and -cin̲ is generally used with the verbs of the second persons in such forms as 'uraitticin̲' (K.T. 63).[2] It is obvious that Dr. Saminathaiyar also admits two forms -cin̲ and -icin̲. Now one may ask where did this "i" of -icin̲ come from? A study of the -cin̲ (or icin̲) forms occurring in the Caṅkam texts may prove an answer to this question.

There occur altogether sixty-three verbal forms with the suffix -cin̲, in 130 places in the Caṅkam Texts: The following are the texts in which these forms occur: Akanānūr̲u, Kur̲untokai, Aimkur̲unūr̲u, Kur̲iñcippāṭṭu, Maturai-k-kāñci, Nar̲r̲iṇai, Patir̲r̲uppattu, Paripāṭal, Perumpāṇār̲r̲uppaṭai and Pur̲anānūr̲u. Of the 63 verbal forms with the suffix -cin̲, 46 forms denote the past tense: 9 are in the imperative; 6 forms are used both in the indicative past and the imperative; one form is a negative verb and in the remaining one form -cin is suffixed to another expletive -mar̲r̲u. An interesting feature of these forms with the suffix -cin̲ is that not all of them are used as finites; some are nominals. The finites mainly refer to the first person singular indicative past and the second person singular imperative. A few forms refer to the third person singular, i.e., masculine, feminine and neuter singular past. Thus it is evident that those verbs with suffix -cin̲ occurring in the first and the third persons singular indicative refer to the past tense only, whether in the indicative or the imperative, the -cin̲ finites do not occur in the plural.

1 Purananuru, Vol. I, p. 34, Madras, 1952.
2 Kuruntokai — nularaycci, p. 102, Madras, 1937.

The structure of the nominal forms is important. –ciṉ appears in the past nominal forms both in the singular and the plural of the third person. In such nominals –ciṉ is suffixed to the verbal form together with the personal terminations *–ōn*, *ōḷ* and *ōr*.

Ex : ōṉ : pukaṟnticiṉōṉ (புகழ்ந்திசினோன்) (Akam 210)
ōl : pirinticiṉōḷ (பிரிந்திசினோள்) (K.T. 336)
ōr : kaṇṭiciṉōr (கண்டிசினோர்) (Aimk 85)

In these forms, it is likely, the expletive –ciṉ and the personal terminations (ōṉ, ōḷ or ōr) are later additions. If it were so, then it follows that *pukarntu, pirinṭu* and *kaṇṭu* respectively, are the original past finites. Compare the following past finites : aṟinticiṉ (*K.T.* 247) ; vanticiṉ (Puram 125). The fact that the author of *Tolkāppiyam* mentions –ciṉ as an expletive, is itself enough to prove that 'aṟintu' (ciṉ) and vantu (ciṉ) are the past finite verbs of the Old Tamil. Naccinarkkiniyar commenting on Cū. 297 of *Tolkāppiyam* says :

'தண்ணென்றிசினே பெருந்துறைப் புனலே'
'விசும்பிழி தோகைச் சீர்போன் றிசினே' என்பன
தண்ணென்றது, போன்றது, என
முற்றுச்சொல் 'சின்' அசைக்கண் படுதலும் கொள்க.

Here Naccinarkkiniyar evidently splits eṉṟiciṉ and pōṉṟiciṉ into 'eṉṟu' and 'ciṉ', 'pōṉṟu' and 'ciṉ' respectively. He interprets the participle 'eṉṟu' as finite 'eṉṟatu' and the participle 'pōṉṟu' as finite 'pōṉṟatu'. Again there is ample evidence in the Caṅkam texts to show that the modern participial forms were then used with finite meaning :

Ex : Vayalai – c – ceṅkoṭi – p – piṇaiyal taii – c –
Cev – viral civanta cēyari maṟai – k – kaṇ
Cev – vāy – k – kuṟumakaḷ iṉaiya
Ev – vāy muṉ niṉṟu makiṟna niṉ tērē
(Aimkuṟunūṟu 52)

வயலைச் சொங்கொடிப் பிணையல் தைஇ
செவ்விரல் சிவந்த சேயரி மழைக்கண்
செவ் வாய் க் குறுமகள் இணைய
எவ் வாய் முன்னின்று மகிழ்ந நின் தேரே.

In this verse 'niṉṟu' (having stood) is used to mean 'niṉṟatu' (it stood). Thus the forms used in the Caṅkam Texts as past finite do not create any difficulty in analysing their structure. The only peculiarity as regards the "u" ending past finite verb is that the final "u" is elided when –ciṉ is suffixed and its place is taken by –i.

Ex : vantu+ciṉ = vant(u)–i–ciṉ

It should be noted that '*vantu*' like ninru as in the above poem, could function as finite without the addition of the –ciṉ suffix. This expletive –ciṉ is suffixed to the past finite for phonological reasons and it has no morphological value as such.

The structure of the forms used as imperative is important for these forms exhibit the character of the Old Tamil verb more clearly. As stated earlier, the same form with the suffix –ciṉ may be used in the past tense or as imperative. The following six forms are used in the Caṅkam texts either as indicative past finites or imperative second singular : Kaṇṭicin, eṉṟiciṉ, kēṭṭiciṉ, cūṟnticiṉ, āṉṟiciṉ, vanticiṉ.

Niṟ kāṇku vanticiṉ (Puram 125) means, "I came to see you". Here vanticiṉ (I came) refers to first person singular past finite. The same form is used as imperative in 'meṉ mela–v–iyali vanticiṉ vāṟiyō maṭantai (Aimk 175)

(மென் மெல வியலி வந்திசின் வாழியோ மடந்தை)

meaning : "My love of gentle gaiṭ! Do come!". Here vanticiṉ (Do come!) is in the imperative second singular. When vanticiṉ is used as imperative, it should be split into 'vanti' and 'ciṉ', ciṉ being an expletive and 'vanti' a

second singular imperative verb. Forms ending in –i– are extensively used in the Caṅkam texts as second singular imperatives. Ex.: eṉṟi (Puram 300); uṇṭi (Kali., 85). This imperative form 'vanti' should be split into 'vantu' and 'i'. Here the second singular termination –i– is suffixed to 'vantu' a past finite verb. In the Caṅkam age imperative verbs were formed by adding the imperative terminations to the past finites. But the forms used as past finites, originally did not possess any tense sign in them. The particle –t– denotes the past tense by accident. It may also be noted that in such present-future finites such as aṟiti (Puram 10: Naṟṟ. 106), taṉiti (Puram 10), uṟaiti (Aimk 333), etc. the particle –t– has no morphological value at all. The only peculiarity in the structure of 'vanti' type forms is that the –t– is nasalized. In the Caṅkam language, the principle of nasalization is associated only with exhibiting the character of the verb as weak, and in no way should it be interpreted as showing the tense. This principle may be illustrated by the comparison of the following three forms:*

vanti (ciṉ) (Aimk 175) Come!

Vantī (Kali. 85) Come!

Vantai (Kali. 63) Come!

All these three forms are in the imperative second singular. Of these, the form vantī is a compound verb and the component elements are '*vantu*' and 'ī'; ī is a verbal root used as imperative: It has lost its meaning 'to give' and here functions as auxiliary suffixed to the form 'vantu'.* Similar forms are *ceṉṟī* (Akam 46; Narr. 360; Kali 79; 91; 93; 110) *Kantī*, (Pari 6-64; Kali 91), *Koṇṭī* (Kali. 147), *Kēṭṭī* (Kali. 47) *ceppī* (Kali. 93, 83). In all such –ī– imperatives the stem is very clear.

* This subject is dealt in detail in my unpublished D. Phil thesis, "*The Structure of the Tamil Verb*" presented to the University of Oxford, 1956.

The structure of the form '*vantai*' is similar to that of '*vanti!*'. It should be split into '*vantu*' and '*ai*'; *ai* is the second person singular termination as much as the -ī- in vanti. Kaṭam pūṇṭu orukāl nī vantai (Kali 63).

(கடம் பூண்டு ஒருகால் நீ வந்தை)

Here *vantai* is used in the sense 'come here!'. Similar form's are *kaṇṭai* (Kali 105; 109; 110; 64; 103). *Uraittai* -k-kāṇ (Kali. 38), etc. In the language of the Caṅkam texts one type of optative is formed by suffixing the optative termination -ka to the old imperative forms ending in -ai.

Eg : Maṟantai + ka = maṟantaikka (மறந்தைக்க) (Kali. 27).

cenṟai + ka = cenṟaikka (சென்றைக்க) (K.T. 383)

From the above analysis, it is clear that during the Caṅkam age, indicatives, imperatives and optatives were formed from the same stems such as vantu (வந்து), kaṇṭu (கண்டு), cenṟu (சென்று).

The following forms occur in the Caṅkam texts :

Past tense : *Finites* :

First Person : *Singular* :

Eṉṟiciṉ (K. T. 217; Naṟṟ 55; 61), kaṇṭiciṉ (Naṟṟ. 126; 177; 195. Puṟam 22), kēṭṭiciṉ (Puṟam 150; Naṟṟ. 115), vanticiṉ (Puṟam 125; 373; 139; 369; 371; patiṟ 2-5; 2-6; 5-1; 6-4; 7-1; 7-4; 9-2; 9-10; Naṟṟ 50), uvanticiṉ (K.T. 351), maṟanticiṉ (Akam 38), arinticiṉ (K.T. 247; Naṟṟ. 278); teḷinticiṉ (Akam 466), ayarnticiṉ (Akam 147; Puṟam 149), paṭarnticiṉ (Puṟam 164), kūrnticiṉ (K.T. 216), āynticiṉ (K.T. 262), cūṛnticiṉ (Akam 76; K.T. 11), aṉṟiciṉ (Kuri 34; Puṟam 151), maruṇṭicin (Akam 384).

Palitticin̲ (Akam 303). Both pēṭur̲r̲icin̲ (Akam 135) and paiyānticin̲ (Nar̲r̲. 114) are compounds.

Third Person : *Singular* :

Mas : cen̲r̲icin̲ (Nar̲r̲. 394), per̲r̲icin̲ (Puram 11).

Fem : Per̲r̲icin̲ (Pur̲am 11)

Neu : pōn̲r̲icin̲ (Nar̲r̲. 240 ; Amk. 74).
tan̲-ṇ-en̲r̲icin̲ (Amk. 73) is a compound.

Past nominals :

Third Person :

Mas : pukaṛnticin̲ōn̲ (Akam 210)

Fem : pirinticin̲ōḷ (K.T. 336)
ir̲anticin̲ōḷ (Akam 306).

Mas : *Fem* : plural :

Kaṇṭicin̲ōr (Aimk 85), payanticin̲ōr (Pur̲am 137), mar̲anticin̲ōr (Narr. 118) ir̲anticin̲ōr (Narr. 302), cir̲anticin̲ōr (Narr. 337), nayanticin̲ōr (Akam 103 ; Perum 425), pirinticin̲ōr (Narr. 241 ; K.T. 94 ; 350 ; Akam 183 ; 197), ar̲inticin̲ōr (K.T. 18 ; 267), aṭainticin̲ōr (K.T. 268), uṇarnticin̲ōr (Pur̲am 365), māynticin̲ōr (Pur̲am 27), cen̲r̲icin̲ōr (Nar̲r̲. 314 ; Akam 34) akan̲r̲icin̲ōr (Akam 311).

Mar̲utticin̲ōr (Patir 5-5), paṭaitticin̲ōr (Puram 18), munṭicin̲ōr (Patir̲ 7-9) is formed from the foot of the second conjugation. So rarely the roots of the second conjugation form -cin̲ verbs :

munti + cin̲ + ōr = munticin̲ōr.

This example clearly shows that the expletive is -cin̲ and not -i-cin̲.

Dat : per̲r̲icin̲ōrkku (Pur̲am 125), pirinticin̲ōrkku (K.T. 35), ur̲ainticin̲ōrkku (Akam 200), uyarnticin̲ōrkku (Pur̲am 214), puṇarnticin̲ōrkku (Akam 367), akan̲r̲icin̲ōrkku (K.T. 127), āṇṭicinōrkku (Puram

357), uṭarricinōrkku (Patir 8-2) is formed from the causative root utarr :

uṭarri + cin + ōr + kku.

Imperative :

All the imperative forms in -cin are used only in reference to the second person singular.

Kaṇṭicin (Akam 99 ; 369 ; Aimk 106 ; 105 ; Narr. 35, 177 ; 202 ; K.T. 112 ; 220 ; 359 ; 249 ; 240), pūṇṭicin (Akam 7), enricin (Akam 375 ; Narr. 99), kēṭṭicin (Matu 208 ; Narr. 78 ; K.T. 30 ; Akam 138, Aimk 59), nōrricin (Puram 202), vanticin (Aimk 175 ; K.T. 367), terinticin (Akam 281), cūṛnticin (Akam 77), nuvanricin (Narr. 200), ānricin (Akam 69 ; 237 ; 267, Narr. 128 ; 286 ; 332 ; Aimk 430).

Uraitticin (K.T. 63 ; 302 ; Akam 191 ; 200 ; 314 ; Narr. 103 ; 176) vaṭitticin (Puram 180), naṭatticinn (Puram 255). The radical vowel -ā is not shortened in kānticin (Akam 164 ; 376).

kān > kaṇ + tu = kanṭu + i + cin = kanticin
kaṇṭicin > kāṇṭicin

Thus the root 'kaṇ' has two imperative forms :

ārricin (Pari 8-79) is the only imperative form formed from the root of the second conjugation.

-cin also appears in the following contexts :

It is suffixed to the negative verb anru : anru + cin = anricin (Puram 289). This expletive -cin appears suffixed to another expletive 'marru' :

marru + cin = marricin (Narr. 272).

In the following contexts 'āṅku' the particle of similarity meaning 'like' is compounded with -cin forms which are in the past tense :

vaḷarnticināaṅku (Amk. 44)
miḻirnticināaṅku (Puram 130).

The Problem of the Life and the Age of Kamban—*(Continued)*

A. C. PAUL NADAR

III

THE EMPIRE OF THE LATER CHOLAS AND KAMBAN

It is relevant at this stage to consider what the champions of the 12th century have to say about the subject of Kamban and the empire of the later Cholas.

Prof. K. A. N. Sastry holds that Kamban belongs to the end of the 12th century, the period of its decline. This is what he says as to the reactions of Kamban to the empire :—

> " Kamban imports into his narration the colour of his own time and place. Thus his description of Kosala is an idealised account of the features of Cola country, and when he wants to emphasise the glory of moonlight, he brings it home to his readers by saying that it spreads everywhere like the fame of his patron Sadayan of Vennai "
>
> (*The Colas* — Second Edition, page 671).

The instances the learned professor adduces to show the colour of his time and place do not necessarily apply to the period of the Empire. The country whose features are idealised in the description of Kosala is none other than the land of the Kaveri, which was always the homeland of the Cholas. On the other hand the empire covered the whole of South India at one stage and even in its decline it extended, nominally at least, over the whole of modern Tamilnad, Kerala and Nellore in Andhra Pradesh. The alleged time and colour of Kamban's time refers only to the time of

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Sadayan, about whose time we have already discussed and pointed out that the earliest inscriptional evidence about Sadayan belongs to the pre-empire days in the 9th century. (Vide p. 111, Vol. VI, No. 2 *Tamil Culture*).

Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai cites the stanza beginning with " புலி புகழ் சென்னி பேரமலன் " with the reading " புலி புகழ் சென்னி போரமலன் " and other readings such as " சென்னி யோர் புகழும் பொற்புடை சென்னியோனமலன் தொல்புகழ்." He thinks " அமலன் " is not applicable to any one particular Chola ruler. But he adds that the description " புலி புகழ் சென்னி போரமலன் " may apply to Vikrama or Kulothunga II, or Rajaraja II (1118-1163) in the age of the poet " Ottakuthan ". The reason that he gives is : கம்பன் காலத்திலிருந்த அரசன் உலகம்?முழுவதும் போற்றும் பேரரசனுகவும், சிறந்த போர் வீரனுகவும், பெரும் கொடைவள்ளலாகவுமிருந்தனன் என்பது இச்செய்யுளால் புலனுகிறது. It means that the Chola " Emperor " of Kamban's time must have been respected throughout the world as a valiant warrior and a generous patron. So he thinks that the term " amalan " is applicable to any one of the above said three emperors. The description of the Chola ruler as " Emperor " " பேரரசன் " is his own wishful thinking. There is nothing in the text to warrant it. After all, the description " புலி புகழ் சென்னி போரமலன் " meaning the war-like Chola praised throughout the world, is a poetic expression similar to Sundaramurthy Nayanar's " கடல் சூழ்ந்த உலகெல்லாம் காக்கின்ற பெருமான் காடவர்கோன் கழற்சிங்கன் " describing a Pallava ruler as the protector of the whole world surrounded on all sides by seas. It is interesting to note that the sheet anchor of Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai " வன்னிய நாட்டிய " etc., (Vide p. 37, VI, *Tamil Culture*) the stanza No. 58 of *Maruthumalai Padalam* refers to " சென்னி நாட்டெரியல் வீரன் தியாக விநோதன் தெய்வப் பொன்னி நாடு " which means the land of the divine Kaveri and not all the Chola Empire.

In another place Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai says :

> " At the beginning of the 12th century, the Chola power was at its height, and an imperial state was realised for the first time in the history of the Tamils. It looked as though Kamban appeared just then to give artistic expression to the sovereign power "
>
> (*Kamban Kavyam*, p. 153).

The two assumptions that the Chola empire was at its height in the beginning of the 12th century, and that Kamban appeared at that time are wrong and self-contradictory ; for, according to him, Kamban composed the poem at the end of that century. The decline of the empire, as already stated, had started even before the beginning of the 12th century. The learned Professor does not explain how Kamban gives artistic expression to that sovereign power, and does not correlate the poem to anything connected with the empire (Vide *Kamban Kavyam*, p. 153).

There is one indisputable piece of external evidence to show that Kamban must have lived earlier than the reign of Virarajendra (1063-1069). The Tamil grammar *Viraso-liyam* by Buddhamitra was composed at the time and in the name of that Chola Emperor ' Virarajendran '. In the introductory stanza No. 3, he says :—

நாமே வெழுத்துச் சொற்பொருள் யாப்பலங்கார மெனும்
மாமேவு பஞ்சவதிகாரமாம் பரப்பைச் சுருக்கித்
தேமேவிய தொங்கல் தேர் வீரசோழன் திருப்பெயரான்
பூமேலுரைப்பன் வட நூல் மரபும் புகன்று கொண்டே.

In the heart of the text under *Santhipadalam*, he speaks of :

எல்லா வுலகும்
மேவிய வெண்குடைச் செம்பியன் வீர ராசேந்திரன் தன்
நாவியல் செந்தமிழ்ச் சொல்லின் மொழி முதனன்னுதலே.

These stanzas show that the grammar was called *Virasoli-yam* after the Chola Virarajendra, who was himself a scholar in the Tamil Language and that the work was

planned on the basis of a synthesis of the Tamil and Sanskrit systems of grammar and rhetoric. There is an old commentary by one Perunthevanar, who is said to be a pupil of the author. In the commentary he cites a stanza as an illustration under section 39 of *Alangara Padalam* which reads as follows :—

> ஈண்டு நூல் கண்டான் எழின் மிழலைக் கூற்றத்துப்
> பூண்ட புகழ் பொன் பற்றிக் காவலனே—பூண்டவரை
> வெல்லும் படைத் தடக்கை வெற்றி புனை வீரன் தன்
> சொல்லின் படியே தொகுத்து.

This reading is in accordance with the emendation made by Sadasiva Pandarathar (vide part I *The History of Later Cholas,* page 279). There is no evidence as to who composed the poem and on what occasion. It looks as though the commentator improvised a stanza for the purpose of an illustration. Whatever may be the origin of the stanza, it suggests that the composition of the grammar was at the request of Virarajendra himself and that the author of the stanza knew it as an eye-witness. If his conjecture is correct, there can be no doubt that both the author and commentator of *Virasoliyam* belonged to the time of Virarajendra. At the end of the commentary another stanza occurs, reading as follows :—

> தடமார் பொழிற்பொன்பற்றிக் காவலன் றான் மொழிந்த
> படி வீர சோழியக் காரிகை நூற்றெண்பஃதோடொன்றின்
> திடமார் பொழிப்புரையைப் பெருந்தேவன் செகம் பழிச்சக்
> கடனாகவே நவின்றான் தமிழ் காதலிற் கற்பவர்க்கே.

This is certainly the composition of the commentator. It shows that he felt in writing the commentary he discharged only a debt which he owed to the author. It is legitimate to infer that the commentator was a pupil of the author, and that if so, he must have been his contemporary. The conjecture and inference receive confirmation from another circumstance in the commentary. Most of the citations of a historical nature refer to Virarajendra himself or

his brothers, his immediate predecessors and his celebrated father Rajendra I such as the battles of Koppam (1054 A.D.) and Kudal Sangamam (1064 A.D.) in which the Tamils won resounding victories over the Western Chalukyas on the banks of the Tungabadra and the Krishna. There is not a single citation of anything later than the time of Vira-rajendra though the succeeding century saw so many events glorified in verse and song by such celebrated poets as Jayankondar of *Kalingathuparani* and Ottakuthar of the *Ulas*. Further in the nature of things it is reasonable to expect a commentary immediately as the text would be unintelligible without it. It breaks new ground of synthesising Sanskrit and Tamil grammars. There can be therefore, no doubt that the commentator also lived and wrote in the reign of Virarajendra or about his time.

Now this commentary makes a distinct reference to Kamban stating கம்பனுறிடைப் பெருமை யுளது (there is greatness in Kamban) as an illustration of the 7th case in the grammar. It is said that there are some manuscripts in which the reading is நம்பனுறிடைப் பெருமை யுளது instead of கம்பனுறிடைப் பெருமை யுளது. But Prof. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai says that the oldest manuscripts support the reading கம்பனுறிடைப் பெருமை யுளது and accepts it as a reference to the great poet. The learned Professor however disputes the age of the commentator and holds that he must belong to the end of the 12th century. His reasoning is somewhat curious. He admits that the commentator refers abundantly to the incidents and names of the time of Virarajendra (1063 to 1069) and Rajendra I (1014 to 1044) and therefore he infers that the commentator would not be very much later than these rulers and so in his usual way he concludes that there should be a lapse of at least a century between the text and the commentary of *Viraso-liyam*. It is only obvious that he post-dates the time of the commentator in order to support his own case of assigning the end of the 12th century as the age of Kamban. The postponement of the time is the only way of escape out of

the difficulties he has created for himself by assigning first the age of Kamban and then trying to explain away the evidence against it. This is putting the cart before the horse (vide தமிழ்ச் சுடர் மணிகள் 118 & 119). It is interesting to note that Prof. K. A. N. Sastry holds that the commentator was the pupil of the author and apparently concedes the contemporaneity of both from the citations in the commentary above referred to. (Vide *Colas,* page 683, Second edition, 1955). But the learned Professor ignores this piece of evidence afforded by the commentary of *Virasoliyam* for fixing the age of Kamban.

It may be noted that the commentator Perunthevanar refers to Kamban in the honorific plural as Kambanar and that he did not profess Vaishnavism but Buddhism. It is legitimate to infer that some time must have elapsed for such a recognition. It is difficult to say how long it must have taken for it in the absence of any clear evidence. Considering the difficulties of communications, paucity of manuscript copies of the poem, prejudices, rivalries and animosities of religious sects and the immense prestige which Sanskrit had acquired by that time throwing Tamil in the background, we shall not be far wrong if we allow more than a century. If this estimate be correct, Kamban must have lived not later than the middle of the 10th century of the Christian era, that is to say before the foundation of the empire under Rajaraja the Great (985-1030).

Apart from the evidence offered by the commentator of the *Virasoliyam,* the best evidence available is the text of *Kambaramayanam* to show whether the author had anything to do with the empire. However it may be remembered that the text we have has been meddled with.

Kambar is acknowledged to be a learned poet. The saying 'கல்வியிற் பெரியன் கம்பன்' has pursued him down the centuries. Though he rises to great heights in universalism, he is not indifferent to particularism. His attachment to

the land of the Kaveri where he was born and bred and everything pertaining to it are an obsession with him. Deep love for that land is evident throughout the poem. He idealised even Kosala in terms of his own homeland. Its merit lies in being like the land of the Kaveri. காவிரி நாடன்ன கழனி நாடு (குகப்படலம்). In his enthusiasm for the land of Kaveri, he even peoples Kosala with the Tamil Tribes and clans, such as பண்கள் வாய் மிழற்றும் இன்சொல் கடைசியர் ; உண்கள்வார் கடைவார் மள்ளர் ; தெள் விளிச் சீறியாழ்ப்பாணர் ; வென்ற உழத்தியர் (நாடு 10, 8, 24); ஆறு 13 கொடிச்சியர் ; 14 எயினர் ; 15 ஆயர். These are at least the tribes of Marutham and Mullai (arable and pastoral lands) but நுளைச்சியர் of Neithal (coastland) (நாடு 34) with pearls appears in Kosala. It need hardly be said that Kosala has no sea coast. The poet is only dreaming of his own land.

No river is so sacred as his own divine Kaveri. தெய்வப் பொன்னி எனலாய ஆறும் உள (அகத்தியப் படலம் 58). His mother tongue is not only sweet, but eternal என்றுமுள தென்றமிழ் (அகத்திய படலம்). He asserts that the Tamil is superior to the language of the Four Vedas in simplicity, beauty and profundity.

உழக்கு மறைநாலினு முயர்ந்துலகமோதும்
வழக்கினும் மதிக் கவினினும் மரபினுடி.

(அகத்தியப் படலம் 41)

His wishful thinking makes his hero Rama as proficient in Tamil as in Sanskrit.

தென்சொற் கடந்தான் வடசொற்கெல்லை தேர்ந்தான்

(நகர்நீங்கு 140)

He even forges a political connection for the family of his patron Sadayan by making his ancestors hand over the crown at the coronation of Rama at Ayodhya

விரை செறி கமலத்தாள் சேர் வெண்ணெய் மன் சடையன்
—தங்கள்
மரபுளோர் கொடுக்க வாங்கி வசிட்டனே புனைந்தான் மௌலி

(திருவடிசூட்டு 38)

It is needless to multiply examples of similar nature so abundantly scattered throughout the poem. The students of *Kambaramayanam* may feel that the poet must have as a preparation for making the poem, observed intensely, meditated deeply and understood minutely till his knowledge became habitual and intuitive and wedded itself to his feelings and emotions. Equipped with superb mental training, gifted with a penetrating imagination and endowed with deep emotions and fired with a burning love for the Tamil Nad, we should expect the poet to react powerfully to the fact, nature and character of the Chola Empire and its glorious achievements, only if he had lived during the empire or immediately after.

Among the glorious achievements of the Empire, the first and foremost is the accomplishment of the political unity of South India between the seas with Kalinga in the North and Ceylon in the South. On one occasion at least under Rajendra I they had extensive territories inclusive of Kosala and South East Asia up to Java. For three quarters of a century Ceylon became the Province of the Empire and several villages in it were endowed to the big temple at Tanjore. The conquest of Lanka by Rajaraja the Great inspired his Court Poet to sing in his " மெய்க்கீர்த்தி "

> " Rama built with the aid of the monkeys a causeway over the seas and then slew with great difficulty the King of Lanka by means of sharp-edged arrows. But Rama was excelled by King (Rajaraja) whose powerful army crossed the ocean by ships and burnt up the King of Lanka "
>
> (Vide Thiruvalangadu plates cited in
> K. A. N. Sastry's *Colas*, 2nd edition, page 172).

Kamban did not forget his patron Sadayan while dealing with the building of the causeway in *Sethubandana-padalam* (Vide page 107, Vol. VI, No. 2, *Tamil Culture*). If only the poet were aware of the conquest of Lanka by Rajaraja and administration of it as part of the Chola

Empire, it is quite natural to expect the poet to make allusion to it in some form or other. As a matter of fact he does not make any allusion at all. On the other hand he seems to be quite ignorant of the geography of Ceylon. He treats it as one island City-fortress built on a hill 'விலங்கல் மேல் இலங்கை' (காட்சிப்படலம் 1) 'வீங்கு நீர் இலங்கை வெற்பு' (Vide p. 253, Silver Jubilee edition of *Sundara Kandam,* Annamalai University).

'கண்டனென் இலங்கை மூதூர் கடிபொழில் கனக நாஞ்சில்'.

It is difficult to believe that Kamban was so ignorant of the geography of Ceylon if he lived at any time during the days of the Empire or after.

Rajendra Chola conquered Kosala. His மெய்க்கீர்த்தி says:

பூசுரர் சேரு நற் கோசலநாடும்
தன்ம பாலனை வெம் முனையழித்து
வண்டுறை சோலைத் தண்ட புத்தியும்
இரண சூரனை முரணறத் தாக்கித்
திக்கணை கீர்த்தித் தக்கண லாடமும்
கோவிந்த சந்தன் மாவிழிந்தோடத்
தங்காத சாரல் வங்காள தேசமும்
தொடு கழற் சங்கு கொடடல் மகிபாலனை
வெஞ்சமர் வளாகத் தஞ்சுவித்தருளி
ஒண்டிறல் யானையும் பெண்டிற் பண்டாரமும்
நித்திர நெடுங்கடல் உத்தரலாடமும்
வெறி மலர்த்தீர்த்தத் தெறிபுனற் கங்கையும்

(Vide T. V. Sadasiva Pandarathar's *History of Later Cholas* Part I, pp. 257-58. For the identification of places—vide pp. 156-157).

It is said that his object of invading North India was to purify his land with the waters of the Ganges. In the above quotation Kosala is referred to as the land of Gods of earth (Brahmins). Hence there can be no doubt that Rama's Kosala was meant. Politically at the time it was part of the territory of Bengal, under the rule of the Palas.

The waters of the Ganges were brought to fill the tank at Gangaikondacholapuram. Both the conquest of Kosala and bringing the waters of the Ganges must have filled the Tamils of the period with great pride. Jayankondar of a later age said of Rajendra :

களிறு கங்கை நீருண்ண மண்ணையில்
காய் சினத்தோடே கலவு செம்பியன்

It is difficult to imagine that if Kamban had lived at that time or after it, the events failed to make any impression on his mind. We do not hear any echo of these glorious events in the text of *Kambaramayanam.* It is needless to add that the poet had many opportunities of referring to these glorious acts while dealing with the country of Kosala and the river Ganges.

Now, if Kamban lived during the Empire or after it, apart from sentimental reactions, we should expect him to note realistically the geographical situations as well as political and administrative divisions in the Empire. He had an opportunity to deal with various places within the limits of the Empire in the light of the directions given by Sugriva to Hanuman to search for the heroine Sita kidnapped by Ravana, and the places actually visited by Hanuman and his search party. The directions are contained in the *Nadavittapadalam* and the search is dealt with in the *Pilaneenkupadalam* in Kishkinda Kandam. Unfortunately the text is meddled with in all the three padalams. The kidnapping took place at Panchavadi usually identified with Nasik above the source of the river Godavari (or above the upper course of that river as the Andhras would have it). Rama and Lakshmana traced the kidnapper as far as Kishkinda, where some of the jewels of Sita were recovered. Sugriva was convinced that Ravana must have taken Sita only to Lanka, lying south in the seas. So, the search in the Southern parts became the most important, and Hanuman was deputed to go to the South. This is what Kamban says :

தென்றிசைக் கணிராவணன் சேணகர்
என்றிசைக் கின்ற தென்ன வின்னணம்
வன்றிசைக் கினி மாருதி நீயலால்
வென்றிசைக் குரியார் பிறர் வேண்டுமோ

வள்ள றேவியை வஞ்சித்து வெளவிய
கள்ள வாளரக்கன் செலக்கண்டது
தெள்ளியோ யிது தென்றிசை யென்பதோர்
உள்ளமும் எனக்குண்டென உன்னுவான்

(நாடவிட்டபடலம் 7 - 8)

These stanzas show that Sugriva had absolutely no doubt about the direction in which Sita was taken, namely the south of Kishkinda usually identified with the plateau of Mysore in the region of the old Bellary District in the combined state of Madras. Now, south of Kishkinda lies the Tamil Nad. This received confirmation from stanza No. 2 of *Pilaneengupadalam* which deals with the proposal of the poet கவிக்கூற்று to begin the story of the actual search made by the party of Hanuman deputed to the Southern section. It reads :—

குன்றிசைத்தன வெனக் குலவுத் தோள் வலியினர்
மின்றிசைத்திடு மிசைக்கொடியை நாடினர் விராய
வன்றிசைப் படருமாறு ஒழிய வண்டமி முடைத்
தென்றிசைச் சென்றுளார் திறனெடுத்துரை செய்வாம்

(பிலநீங்குப் படலம் 2)

The poet refers distinctly to the land lying south and speaking the Tamil language. This is the region where the search started according to this stanza. But the next stanza says that the search party reached the Vindhyas

சிந்துராகத் தொடுந் திரண்மணிச் சுடர் செறின்
தந்திவானத் தினின்றவிர் தலானரவினோ
டிந்தியா றெய் தலானிறைவன் மாமெளலிபோல்
விந்தை நாகத்தின் மாடெய்தினர் வெய்தினல்.

(பிலநீங்குப் படலம் 3)

It needs hardly to say that the Vindhyas are not in the south, but are several hundred miles north of Kishkinda.

It is obvious that clumsy interpolations are made while retaining the stanza in which the poet's proposal to deal with the search in the Tamilnad. The same clumsy interpolations are patent in *Nadavittapadalam,* where in stanza No. 2, directions are given by Sugriva for a search in the Vindhyas contrary to the distinct statement in stanza No. 8 in the same padalam above cited indicating that the search should start in the Tamilnad. Reserving for later consideration the interpolated portions, we now take up the directions about and the actual search in the Tamilnad.

Sugriva's directions refer to (1) the sacred Tirupathi Hills as marking the boundary between the region of that northern language (Sanskrit) and that of the southern language (Tamil), (2) the Tondainadu, (3) the land of the divine Ponni (otherwise named Cholanadu), (4) the malai nadu (the land of the mountains), (5) the wide south Tamilnad, (6) the Pothia Hills of the sage Agasthiar with the Tamil Sangam, (7) the Porunai river filled with gold ore, (8) Mahendra Hill (*Nadavittapadalam,* 26-32). In *Arruselpadalam,* the actual search made in the same places with slight variations of the place names. Instead of Tondainadu we have Tandakanadu. The expression Cholanadu is not mentioned as referring to the land of the Kaveri. Pothia Hill and the Tampravarni river are omitted in the search. It is significant to note the geographical divisions, the physical features, religious sanctity and linguistic charm of the Tamilnad. It is still more significant to note the absence of any reference whatsoever to the rulers of the traditional Tamilnad such beloved names as Chera, Chola, Pandia, and nothing to indicate the Pallava rulers, political divisions or their capital cities with temples and places and seats of learning. There is nothing to indicate the achievements of a political unity even at least as far as the Tamil Nad was concerned. Nothing can be more preposterous than to say that Kamban though belonging to the Empire completely ignored its importance and failed

to express it. The only conclusion possible is that Kamban lived before the Empire was founded.

This receives confirmation from three important references in the text. The first one is afforded by stanza No. 38 in *Arruselpadalam.*

சூடியாண்டச் சுரி குழற்றோகையைத்
தேடி வார்புனற் றெண்டிரைத் தண்டக
நாடு நண்ணு கின்றூர் மறை நாவலர்
வேட மேயினர் வேண்டுரு மேவுவார்.

Hanuman and his party were capable of taking any shape they liked. When the search was made in Tandakanad, they assumed the shape of Vedic Brahmins. What must have been their purpose ? The purpose is rendered clear by the status and position attained by the Brahmins in Tondaimandalam under the Pallavas. " They patronised the northern culture and Kanchi was a great centre of Sanskrit learning from the 7th century A.D. They founded Brahmin settlements on the banks of rivers particularly in the neighbourhood of their imperial capital and encouraged their progress in various directions. Their imperial resources were utilised for the encouragment of the Brahminic cultures " (vide Sathianathar's *Studies in the Ancient History of Tondaimandalam*). Imitation is the sincerest form of flattery. The search party metamorphosed as Brahmins would be sure of a reception among their equals. It is significant that Tondaimandalam is singled out for such transformation indicating the origin and growth of Brahminic influence. Under the Empire it extended to the Cholamandalam where it reached its zenith. This policy of metamorphosis confined to Tondaimandalam denotes a matter of great significance. It reflects the mind of the age. It is legitimate to infer that *Kambaramayanam* must have been composed before the Chola Empire was founded.

The second reference indicating a historic period is given in stanza No. 52 of *Arruselpadalam* :

அனைய பொன்னியகன் புன்னாடொரீஇ
மனையின் மாட்சி குலாமலை மண்டலம்
வினையினீங்கிய பண்பினர் மேயினார்
இணைய தென்றமிழ் நாடு சென்றெய்தினார்

The second line மனையின் மாட்சி குலா மலை மண்டலம் is important. The mountainous region of the West Coast is described as the region where the virtue of chastity blossomed abundantly. It is exactly what one should expect from the land which was the first to honour the Pattini cult of Kannaki by constructing a shrine for the goddess of chastity. Later on, a different cult prevailed with the advent of Nambudri Brahmin settlers who introduced novel manners and customs in the domestic life on the west coast leading to the formation of a new order in the matter of social and sexual relations subversive of the old order until remedied in recent years by reformist movements. The decline in domestic virtue may have started after the end of the rule of the Perumals in the 9th century A.D. The reference therefore to the chastity of the people of the West Coast shows clearly that Kamban must have lived before the new manners made headway about the 10th century A.D.

The third reference is related to the identification of Cholanadu with the land of the Kaveri alone. Under the empire the Cholanadu expanded over a large area including almost the whole of South India (compare 29 and 30 of *Nadavittapadalam* and 47 and 52 of *Arrusel-padalam*).

The geographical knowledge disclosed in what may be considered in the interpolated portions of *Nadavitta, Pila-neengu* and *Arrusel padalams* is revealing. The places and tribes mentioned in them may be compared with what appears in Valmiki on the one hand and *Kalingattuparanai* on the other. *Kalingattuparani* was composed in 1115 A.D. by the poet Jayankondar at the court of Kulotunga I (1070-1118) to celebrate the victory of Karunakara Tondaiman,

the Chola General over Kalinga lying between the Godavari and Mahanadi. It mentions certain rivers crossed by the army of invasion in its march from Conjeevaram to Kalinga. They may be taken as rivers known to the Tamils of the days of the empire, as they formed part of the greater Cholanad (Vide Pandarathar's *Later Cholas,* Part II, page 27).

MOUNTAINS, RIVERS, PLACES, TRIBES.

According to Valmiki.	*According to Kamban*	*According to Kalingattuparani from Conjeevaram to North Kalinga.*
1. Vindhya	Vindhya	Palaru
2. Narbada	Narbada	Kusaitalai Aru
3. Godavari	Yemakoodam	Ponmuhai
4. Krishna	Pennai - Red & Black	Kolli Aru
5. Mekkilas	Vidarba	Pennai
6. Utkalas	Tandakam	Mannaru
7. Cities of Dac,	Mundakathurai	Kunti Aru
Arna	Pandumalai	Peraru (Krishna)
8. Asuvanthi	Godavari	Godavari
9. Avanthi	Suvanam	Pambanadhi
10. Vidarba	Suryakandam	Gayathrinadhi
11. Rishtikas	Chandrakandam	Gauthamanadhi
12. Mahisakas	Konkanam	
13. Matsyas	Kulingam	
14. Kalingas	Suranadhi	
15. Kansikas	Arunthathi malai	
16. Dandaka	Maragathamalai	
17. Andhras	Venkatam	
18. Paundras	Ponninadu (Chola-	
19. Cholas	nadu)	
	Malainadu	
20. Pandyas	Sonte Tamilnad	
21. Keralas	Pothia hill	
22. Ayosmuka	Porunai	
23. Kaveri	Mahendra	
24. Tambaravarni	Sea	
25. Capital of Pandya		
26. Mahendra.		

The geography disclosed in Valmiki is primitive and necessarily imperfect. What is most surprising is that even the

places in North India are not correctly given. For example, the land of the Matsyas lay west of the Jamuna, and Avanti was South of Vindhyas. They are misplaced. There is a variation between the places mentioned in the direction given by Sugriva and those actually covered by the search party of Angada and Hanuman. Apparently, the text in *Kambaramayanam* was sought to be brought into conformity with Valmiki. It is however inexplicable how it varies from Valmiki. A river in Tamilnad like Pennai—red or black is placed between Yemakoodam and Vidarba in Maharashtra. The river Swanam is placed between the Godavari and Suryakantha. According to the learned commentator V. M. Sadagopa Ramanujachari, the Swanam is none other than the sacred river Ganges. But so far as the twelve rivers mentioned in *Kalingathuparani* are concerned, they are real rivers, being situated within the Chola Empire. Kulothunga I to whom the poem is addressed was born and bred in the land of Vengi between the Godavari and Krishna. So we may take it there could be no mistake about either the identity or the situation of the rivers (vide Pandarathar's *History of the Later Cholas*, Part II, page 27). If Kamban or the interpolator who introduced the new stanzas in the abovesaid padalam belonged to the period of the Empire, we should expect a more realistic grasp of the places mentioned therein and their situation. The irresistible conclusion is that Kamban must have lived before the Empire.

During the period of the Empire, the large importation of Brahmin priests and Vedic scholars and their exclusive establishment in Chathur-Vedimangalams brought about a great social revolution. No doubt the Pallavas started the mahasaba villages, but their golden age was reached during the later Cholas. The period of exactly 200 years from 920 A.D. to 1120 A.D. show their fullest development.

Besides the great Ghatika at Kanchi, there were colleges for Sanskrit education at Ennayiram (near Villupu-

ram), Tribhuvanam in Pondicheri area and Tirumukkoodal in Chingleput District and other places. They were all richly endowed by the Chola emperors. There is not a shred of evidence to show that Tamil was encouraged in a similar manner. Under the Cholas, caste was the basis of the social organisation.

This cultural and social revolution is not echoed in *Kambaramayanam*. In *Balakandam,* the people referred to are the old tribes of Tamilnad occupying the various regions such as கொடிச்சியர், எயினர், ஆயர், கோவலர், மள்ளர், உழத்தியர், கடைசியர், நுழைச்சியர். It is therefore legitimate to infer that Kamban must have lived before the foundation of the Empire. (vide M. Sreenivasa Iyengar's *Tamil Studies,* I series, page 62 ; Satyanatha Iyer's *Studies in the Ancient History of Thondaimandalam,* pages 38 to 40 ; K. N. Sastry's *Colas,* Chapter XX for the social and cultural revolutions.)

The learned Sanskrit Pundits invented fanciful geneologies connecting the Cholas with the Solar race of Ayodhya. The Sanskrit poems attached to the Tiruvalangadu copper plates and Karanthai Tamil Sangam copper plates give the geneologies. But the former makes Cholan come after Baratha the 25th in descent from Surya : Bharathan as a matter of fact belongs to the Lunar race. The latter makes Cholan, the son of Sibi the sixth in descent from Surya. The former belongs to the time of Sundara Chola (957 to 970 A.D. and the later is in honour of Rajendra I. (1012 to 1044 A.D.). Now the text of *Kambaramayanam* gives a different list of Rulers of Ayodhya. The list includes (1) Aditya, (2) Manu, (3) Phiruhu, (4) Ikshuvahu, (5) Nimi, (6) Mandhada, (7) Diliban, (8) Sibi, (9) Saharan, (10) Baheradhan, (11) Sudarsan, (12) Ayan, (13) Dayarathan. Cholan is not at all mentioned anywhere. It is possible and probable that Kamban must have lived long before these fanciful geneologies were invented.

The secular tribal monarchy of the early Tamils was developed in course of time by poets and saints as a deified monarchy. An unknown poet refers to Karikal Chola as God Vishnu in the language of a love stricken girl:

அரிமா சுமந்த அமளி மேலானை
திருமா வளவனெனத் தேறேன்—திருமார்பின
மானமால் என்றே தொழுதேன் தொழுதகை
போனவா பெய்தவளை

(Vide *Perumbanatrupadai* Appendix in Swaminatha Iyer's Edition.)

Tirukural elevates the just king to the level of a God:

முறை செய்து காப்பாற்று மன்னன் மக்கட்கு
இறை யென்று வைக்கப்படும்.

Nammalvar sees the God Vishnu in a good king:

திருவுடை மன்னரைக் காணில் திருமாலைக் கண்டேனே.

The process of deification reached its zenith under the Chola Emperors whose geneology was connected with the Solar race of the kings of Ayodhya. Jayankondar refers to Kulotunga I as the re-incarnated Sri Krishna himself:

இருள் முழுது மகற்றும் விதுகுலத்தோன் தேவி
இகல் விளங்கு தபனகுலத்திராச ராசன்
அருள் திருவின் திருவயிற்றில் வந்து தோன்றி
ஆலிலையி னவதரித்தானவனே மீள.

(vide *Kalingathuparani*, stanza 234).

"Several temples of the period (of the Empire) and often also the chief icons in them were called after the ruling kings who established them. The worship accorded to idols who are called sometimes after living monarchs seems to have been connected with the apotheosis of Royal personages after their demise"

(K. A. N. Sastri's *Colas*, 2nd Edition, p. 452).

Kamban is no party to this process of deification or of apotheosis of rulers. On the other hand any ruler must work as hard as any poor man on his hard piece of land :

வையகம் முழுவதும் வறிஞன் ஓம்பும் ஓர்
செய்யனக் காத்து இனிது அரசு செய்கின்றான்.

(Vide *Arruselpadalam*, Stanza 3 in *Balakandam*).

Further Kamban's unique conception of a ruler is that he is only the body and the people are the life :

வையகம் மன்னுயிராக அம்மன்னுயிர்
உய்யத் தாங்கு முடலன்ன மன்னன்

(Vide *Mantharaichulchipadalam*, 17).

The reaction of the public to the announcement of the proposed coronation of Rama is expressed by Kamban in unmistakable democratic urge ; in stanza No. 76 of *Mantharapadalam* :

ஒத்த சிந்தை யருவகை யரொருவர்க் கங்கொருவர்
தத்தமக்குற்ற வர செனத் தழைக்கின்ற மனத்தர்.

Every man feels as though his own coronation is expected. Deification is the negation of democracy. Kamban is certainly nearer the innate democratic culture of the early Tamils. There is no trace of the later cult of the Empire.

However, there are certain features in the present text of *Kambaramayanam* indicating the decline of manners and morals characteristic of the age of the Imperial Cholas as evidenced in the *Ula* poems of Ottakoothar. It is already pointed out that many stanzas in *Balakandam* describing the amusements of the wedding guests from Ayodhi on their march to Mithila are incongruous in the light of what appears to be the poet's great basic principles such as his condemnation of laxity in sexual relationship and abhorrence of intoxicating drinks (Vide *Tamil Culture,* Vol. VI, page 33). Both men and women drink nothing but toddy : this is their whole food (Vide *Undattupadalam*). Now Kamban condemns liquor as நிந்தனை நறவம் (Vide

விபீடணனடைக்கலப் படலம் 100; நிகும்பலை 174 and Murugappa's *Kambar Kavyam,* pp. 39-50). Indeed, he draws a sharp distinction between the life at Lanka and that at Ayodhi in the matter of drink so common at the former place. The spectacular devotion to sensuality displayed by the wedding guests belies the assertion of Kamban in the very first stanza of the body of the poem that both men and women of Ayodhi do not swerve from the path of virtue even in the enjoyment of sensual pleasures (Vide No. 1 in *Arrupadalam* in *Balakandam*). That stanza serves as தோற்றுவாய்—a sort of key to the understanding of the theme in the poem. The plot hinges on the victory of Rama over the passion of Surpanaka and the victory of Sita over the passion of Ravana leading inevitably to the destruction of Ravana.

As a matter of fact, the five padalams namely, *Eluchi, Varaikatchi, Pookai, Punalvilayatu and Undattu padalams* are not in Valmiki's. The learned commentator of modern times, Sri V. M. Satagopa Ramanujachary thinks that Kamban has invented these to make his poem to answer to the requirements of an Epic poem. If what is said above are the basic principles on which the plot of the poem is worked out, the padalams run contrary to those principles and ought to be rejected as interpolations. Sri T. K. C. rejects the last four and Murugappa rejects the last three. It is for experts of forms, metre and ideas to consider how far these five padalams are genuine and integral parts of *Kambaramayanam.* In any case, to the extent that these padalams run contra to the first stanza in *Arrupadalam* in *Balakandam* they cannot be genuine. Otherwise the poem loses its unity, and consequently its greatness.

In the light of the materials placed above, it is almost certain that Kamban was not a contemporary of the Chola Empire (1000 to 1200 A.D.) and that he must have lived prior to the period of the Chola Empire.

(To be continued)

Gleanings from the Silappadhikaram

V. S. MUDALIYAR.

I. MARRIAGE, TEMPLES AND THE ARTS.

The *Silappathikaram,* written in the 2nd century A.D. by Ilango Adigal, is a mine of interesting and useful information on almost every phase of Tamil civilization and culture as it existed some 1,800 years ago. It gives us, as it were, a full length portrait of the ancient Tamil and its ways. No other Tamil work, before or since, has given us such vivid pictures, with such wealth of detail, of the Tamil society of a by-gone age. It is no wonder, then, that it is acclaimed by all Tamil scholars as a monumental work of great historical and sociological value and interest to the Tamil world. The picture of Tamil civilization and culture, as portrayed in the *Silappathikaram,* may be conveniently studied under specific heads, such as marriage, temples, arts, etc.

MARRIAGE :

Kovalan, a young lad of 16 belonging to the merchant community, marries Kannagi, a young girl of 12, also of the same community. The marriage is performed by a Brahmin according to Vedic rites, and after the marriage, the bridal pair go round the sacrificial fire under his guidance.[1] This is the picture we get from the *Silappathikaram.* It will be noted that even as early as the 2nd century A.D. (which is the age of the *Silappathikaram*), the ritualistic type of marriage with which we in South India are familiar, was in vogue in the Tamil land. The

[1] " *மாமுது பார்ப்பான் மறைவழி காட்டிடத் தீவலம் செய்து ....* "
மங்கல வாழ்த்துப்பாடல்—வரி 53-4.

older type of marriage—the clandestine marriage which formed the perennial theme of the Tamil bards of an earlier age—was substituted in certain strata of society by Brahminical marriage under Vedic rites. Another point which deserves notice is this : The ideal age for marriage, according to the conception of the day, was a little less than 16 years for the male and a little less than 12 years for the female.

Temples and Gods :

There appears to have been already an adoption of Aryan gods in the Tamil country. In the *Indira Vizhavoor-edutha Kathai,* or the story of Indra's festival, five temples are mentioned : they are the temples of Siva, Murugan, Bala Devan, Vishnu and Indra. In *Kanathiramuraitha Kathai,* or the story of the dream, ten kottams—lesser temples presumably—are mentioned. They are those of :

(1) Karpaga—the tree of Swarga.
(2) Irawadham—Indra's elephant.
(3) Bala Devan.
(4) Surya—the Sun God.
(5) Kailas—Siva's abode.
(6) Vel Murugan's weapon.
(7) Indra's vajra padai—Indra's weapons.
(8) Iyyanar.
(9) Aruhan.
(10) Chandra—the Moon God.

It will be seen that the temples in the country, big and small, were also dedicated to Aryan or Aryanised gods. Another point worthy of notice here is the absence of all mention of a temple for Vigneswara in the two lists, which clearly points to the fact that the cult of Vigneswara worship had not penetrated the Tamil land then. When it subsequently entered and began to hold sway in Tamil Nad is a matter for future research.

To say that Aryan gods, Aryan rites and Aryan form of marriage were prevalent in the Tamil land in the *Silappathikaram* age is not to say, however, that Aryan civilization and culture had supplanted, or even dominated, Tamil civilization and culture, Tamil habits and modes of living. On the contrary, in their arts, in their dress, in the ornaments they wore, in their pastimes, in their conception of the relationship between the sexes, in their philosophy and beliefs, the Tamils continued to preserve their individuality and culture.

DANCING :

Of all the arts, the art of Dancing occupies a supreme place in the life of the people. The glamour for this art and its supremacy are such that it would be difficult to find a parallel to them in the cultural history of the world. A young dancer, Madhavi, after the usual seven-year probation, makes her debut. She is taken to the dancing hall or theatre in a triumphal procession, headed by the king and the five great orders, viz., the ministers, the priests, the generals, the ambassadors, and the saranars.[2] What an escort for a mere dancer ! We can well imagine the importance, or rather the pre-eminence, this art had assumed in the nation's eyes. *Arangetruthal,* it would seem, had come to acquire all the importance and grandeur of a state function.

Arangetru-kathai, or the story of the great debut, occupies an honoured place in the poem, not only because of its bearing on the story, but for the light it throws on the standard of excellence the art of dancing had attained and the love of the Tamils for this great art. This *Kathai* abounds in detailed information concerning every phase of the art, so much so it can verily be called a complete treatise on dancing. It starts with laying down the first requisite in a votary of the art, viz., that she should be

2 அரங்கேற்றுகாதை—வரி 125-28.

one in whom dancing, singing and beauty are present in equal measure. In other words, it would have been incongruous to have a dancer whose beauty, say, is less compared with her talent for music or dancing.[3]

Then, starting at the age of five, she had to undergo tuition and training for full seven years under no less than six tutors, *viz.*, 1. ஆடலாசான் (Dancing master) ; 2. இசையாசிரியன் (Music teacher) ; 3. இயல்தமிழ்ப் புலவன் (Tamil poet) ; 4. தண்ணுமை முதல்வன் (Master drummer) ; 5. குழலோன் (Flutist) ; 6. யாழாசிரியன் (Veena master). The qualifications of each one of these tutors are elaborately set forth. The music teacher, for instance, should be one who not only knows the Tamil language and Tamil music, but is conversant with the languages and music of other tracts.[4] The Tamil *pulavan* should be one who is well versed in all three branches of Tamil literature, viz., Poetry, Music and Drama.[5]

Three musical instruments accompany the dance recital; they are யாழ் (Veena) ; குழல் (Flute) ; and தண்ணுமை (drum). It is clear from *Silappathikaram* that the person playing this last instrument தண்ணுமை is the leader of the music, harmonising the vocal music with the instrumental, and suppressing the excess and supplying the deficiency in the music of the flute and the Veena.[6]

With regard to the dancing proper, the *Silappathikaram* gives us an idea of all that a dancer seeking public acclamation must do by way of exhibiting her skill and perfection in the entire range of this difficult art. It would be interesting, in these days when the dancing art is again

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3 அரங்கேற்றுகாதை—வரி 8-9.

4 அரங்கேற்றுகாதை—வரி 30-2.

5 அரங்கேற்றுகாதை—வரி 37-8.

6 அரங்கேற்றுகாதை—வரி 50-5.

in the ascendent, to compare the present day exposition of the art with that of Madhavi as portrayed in the *Silappathikaram,* but it is a task which only those that are working in the field of " Nattiyam " can usefully undertake. Here it will be sufficient to state that Madhavi's dancing is said to have exemplified all the rules laid down in authoritative works on the art of Dance.[7] It is a tribute to the aesthetic taste of the Tamils that they should have, in that early age, fostered and brought the art of dancing to such a standard of excellence and invested it with what, for want of a better term, we may call " national " importance.

To turn to the other side of the picture : The dancing art was confined to the " Kanikayer ", or the dancing girls' group. It goes without saying that Madhavi belongs to this group. She is just 12 years old when she makes her debut as a full-fledged dancer. The king, in token of his appreciation of her skill in dancing, presents her with a green garland (*emerald chain*) and, following the practice of her community, also publicly sets a value upon it, *viz.,* 1008 gold pieces, which is the price (தலைவரிசை) anyone wishing to claim her love must pay.[8]

Madhavi's maid takes the garland to the place where the rich lads of the City congregate, and there, like any other article for barter, she hawks it about for sale, saying, " The value set upon this is 1008 gold pieces. Whoever pays this sum will become Madhavi's lover."[9] Kovalan, Kannagi's husband, happens to hear this. He pays the price, and completely forgetting and forsaking his wedded wife with whom he had lived happily till then, goes over to Madhavi's house where he lives for many years as her lover.

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7 *அரங்கேற்றுகாதை—வரி 158-59.*

8 *அரங்கேற்றுகாதை—வரி 163-64.*

9 *அரங்கேற்றுகாதை—வரி 164-69.*

II. KARPU.

There is no English word which can adequately bring out the full connotation of the Tamil term "Karpu" (கற்பு.) It is not merely wifely chastity and faithfulness, although it is the most important element in its connotation. It is, in addition to absolute fidelity in thought, word and deed, absolute devotion, absolute deference and regard, absolute submission and self-effacement on the part of the wife towards her husband.

To the ideal wife, her husband is as the very breath of her life, and is as inseparable in death as in life, i.e., she must not survive her husband ; she must die with him.

He is her God, and she need not, nay should not, like others, pray to a deity.[10]

Patience is her watchword. Fear (அச்சம்), Ignorance or its mask (மடமை), Modesty and delicacy (பயிர்ப்பு), and Bashfulness (நாணம்) are her insignia.

She should, like Portia, behave as though she were an "Unlessoned girl, unschooled and unpractised", but willing and eager to learn and improve. She should be thoroughly imbued with a sense of modesty and delicacy. And lastly, she should always wear the mantle of bashfulness, and never appear to be too open or forward.

Her husband may be unkind, unfaithful or cruel to her, but it is not for her to remonstrate, much less utter a word of reproach. It is for her to bear her trials meekly and in a truly forgiving spirit.[11]

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10 "ஆடுது மென்ற அணியிழைக் கவ்வாயிழையாள் பீடன்றென விருந்த பின்னரே"—கஞத்திறமுரைத்தகாதை—வரி 63-4.

11 "கன்னிதன்னைப் புணர்ந்தாலும்
புலவாதொழிதல் கயற்கண்ணாய்
மன்னுமாதர் பெருங்கற்பென்
றறிந்தேன் வாழிகாவேரி". —கானல்வரி, பாட்டு 3.

Such was our forefathers' conception of the ideal wife ! The apotheosis of " Karpu " in the above sense is the key-note of the *Silappathikaram.*[12] History or legend can show no more striking example of the virtuous wife of this description than Kannagi, the heroine of the *Silappathikaram.*

Kannagi, it will be noted, is a loving wife who in turn is dearly loved by her husband. She is praised by all, but specially by her husband, for her unsurpassed beauty and good qualities. In fact, some of the most rapturous words of love and admiration ever sung in verse are those which Kovalan is said to have addressed to Kannagi in the *Silappathikaram.*[13] Such a wife is abandoned and made to suffer cruel agony for a long, long time. Another woman in her place would have felt bitter towards such a husband and renounced him for life. Not so Kannagi. She utters no word of reproach, nor would she suffer it to be uttered in her hearing. It is not philosophic resignation nor historical indifference, that is at the bottom of this attitude. It is her " Karpu ", her sense of wifely duty, that makes her so patient, so forbearing and uncomplaining, although her heart is sore and although she keenly feels her disability, through her husband's separation, to perform her duties as a housewife.[14]

When after months of the most callous desertion her husband comes back to her, she greets him with a smile,[15] with scarce a sign of anger or even displeasure in her face. When he accosts her saying that he is ashamed to have rendered himself penniless through squandering away his wealth on a false courtesan, thinking that his regret was due to his inability to pay Madhavi further, she offers him her anklet so that he may turn it into money and pay her

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12 " *உரைசால்பத்தினிக் குயர்ந்தோரேத்தலும்* "—*பதிகம், வரி 56.*

13 *மணையறம்படுத்த காதை—வரி, 73-80.*

14 *கொலைக்களக் காதை—வரி, 71-3.*

15 *கறைத்திறமுறைத்த காதை—வரி, 73.*

off. Such is Kannagi doing her duty inexorably as the *Karpudai Mangai,* or the virtuous wife !

Kovalan accepts the anklet but not for paying Madhavi as Kannagi thought, but as a potential capital wherewith to start a new life in a new place where they are unknown. Accordingly he suggests their leaving Kaveri-pum-pattinam that very night to go on a long journey by foot to far-off Madurai in the Pandyan Kingdom. Like Sita of old, instantly, without a moment's hesitation, Kannagi sets out with her husband, thinking little of the fatigue, privation and danger which all too plainly confronted foot-travellers in those days. Sita's alacrity to accompany her husband and face all trials and tribulations is easily comprehended, for Rama, her husband, was a staunch lover—so staunch and steadfast, indeed, that he vowed when he married Sita never to touch another woman even in thought, and kept his vow ! Besides he was a great hero, unequalled in valour and skill. But here is fish of another kettle—a husband who behaves in the most wicked and callous manner possible towards his loving wife, and yet she accompanies him most readily on an exceedingly arduous and vexatious journey, with the prospect at the end of it of no more than a precarious existence ! Can anyone imagine a woman doing all this for such a husband ? No, it is past belief except on the basis of " Karpu " animating her whole being. Kannagi herself says this in no uncertain terms. When Kovalan, after bitterly accusing himself for his past conduct, asks her how she brought herself to accompany him to Madurai so readily, she says, " It is true that you have sinned badly against me, but my life's rule is implicit obedience to my lord and husband, and hence my coming with you." [16] There is no doubt that the cardinal point in the conception of *Karpu* is this quality of forbearance—of putting up meekly with the grievous defects and blemishes of the husband. Says Kannagi in ஊர்சூழ்வரி

[16] *கொலைக்களக் காதை—வரி 81-2.*

when she hears of her husband's unjust death :—" Are there virtuous wives here who put up patiently and meekly with the grave shortcomings and lapses of their husbands ? " [17] Here, in a nutshell, is Kannagi's own test for the " Karpudai Pendir " or the virtuous wives.

In Madurai, as we know, Kovalan is slain on a false charge. The news reaches Kannagi's place of residence in hushed whispers, and the local people try to keep it back from her. She, however, grows suspicious and goes to the city in search of her husband. There she sees him lying dead. She is distracted with grief. She sheds bitter tears, and, embracing the blood-stained body of her husband, gives vent to the most doleful lamentation. With such terrible grief rending her heart nothing would have been easier for her, as the virtuous wife, than to end her life there and then. But she learns about the false accusation made against her husband and the cruel death which followed in its wake by the king's order. She is roused to fury. She bids the Sun, the world's eternal witness, come forward and declare whether her husband is a thief. She vows to have her husband's name cleared and his death avenged. To this end she would neither kill herself nor lead the conventional widow's life. Says she to herself : " Knowing that my husband is unjustly slain, am I to wear out my life as a widow, nursing my grief and spending my days in austerities, privations and pilgrimages ? "[18] And she decides that she will not.

From a meek, shrinking, soft-spoken, weak woman she is now transformed into an avenging fury. The very

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17 ' கொண்ட கொழுந ருறுகுறை தாங்குறூஉம்
பெண்டிரும் உண்டுகொல், பெண்டிரும் உண்டுகொல் '.

—ஊர்சூழ்வரி—வரி 53-4.

18 ' துன்புறுவனநோற்று துயருறுமகளிரைப்போல்
மன்பதை அலர்தூற்ற மன்னவன் தவறிழைப்ப
அன்பனை இழந்தேன்யான் அவலங்கொண்டழிவலோ '.

—துன்பமாலை—வரி 35-7.

Karpu which made her so meek and gentle, so submissive and yielding, and so forgiving and uncomplaining hitherto, now when her husband is unjustly slain, makes her more ferocious, more implacable even than *Pidari,* or *Durgai,* or *Kali.* Her tear-stained face reflecting the unutterable agony and the terrible anger in her heart, her hair dishevelled and hanging loose, her clothes blood-stained and disorderly, she rushes to the palace, there to arraign and denounce the king in person. The guard at the gate is struck with dismay at seeing such an apparition. The bold, nay insulting, epithets she uses in addressing the king show the depth of her anger and her contempt for the ruler's might. Words, provocative and insulting, which she would never have dreamt of using previously, now flow from her lips as in a flood-torrent. The other classic example of *Karpu*—Sita also uses insulting language to her all-powerful tormentor, Ravana. But then, although she was a captive, helpless and forlorn, in the enemy's country, she could nevertheless afford to use such language, as she knew that her all-conquering hero, Rama, would one day avenge her insult and humiliation. But Kannagi is a poor, helpless, unknown woman in an unknown country, and yet she dares to arraign the highest of that country in language that will stand comparison with Sita's for temerity and withering scorn.

When she accuses the king of unjustly killing Kovalan, he points out that to put a thief to death is no injustice.[19] Kannagi proves that her husband was no thief by showing that, while her anklet had rubies in it, that of the queen contained pearls. The shock is too great for the King and he dies on the spot. His queen, as behoves the virtuous wife, dies too. Kannagi, however, is not appeased. She is mightily angry, and rightly so, against the city where such false accusation and such horrible travesty of justice were possible. She vows : " If I am a virtuous daughter

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19 *வழக்குரை காதை—வரி 64-5.*

of that home of all virtuous women, Kaveri-pum-pattinam, I will not rest until I have destroyed Madurai along with its Kingship ". And calling all men and women, and the gods and sages to witness, she declares, " I am terribly angry with Madurai that hath done my husband such grievous wrong. I am not to blame for what I now do." So saying, she plucks out her left breast with her right hand, and after going round Madurai thrice, she flings it across the market place with the fierce imprecation that the entire City be burnt down to ashes. The Fire-God appears before her and asks her, before he starts the conflagration, to name those that should be spared death by fire. Kannagi names the Brahmins, the sages, the cows, the virtuous women, the aged and the children. The fire breaks out and destroys all except those named by Kannagi. What anger ! What fierceness ! What inflexible will ! And what faith in the power of *Karpu !* To declare that she will destroy Madurai argues an implicit and unconquerable faith in the power of her *Karpu* to make the gods obey her will. And the story is that the gods did obey the virtuous wife !

Tamil literature calls this heroism of the virtuous wife *Marak-karpu* (heroic karpu) to distinguish it from the meek and submissive type which it designates *Arak-karpu* (Dharmic karpu). Kannagi is a classic example of both kinds of *Karpu.* As the meek, submissive, ever-patient wife of Kovalan she illustrated *Arak-karpu* in the earlier part of her life ; and when her husband was unjustly done to death, she showed to the world to what heroic heights the same woman could rise and thus exemplified *Marak-karpu* also in her own person. This is the reason why, while there were ever so many examples in the land of virtuous wives laying down their lives for their deceased husbands, the Tamils chose Kannagi as பத்தினித்தெய்வம் or the deity of virtuous wifehood, and built temples for her all over the country. Her worship spread even to

Lanka where its King (Kaya Vahu) is said to have built her a temple.[20]

The ancient Tamils rated the virtuous female கற்புடைய மங்கை as high as a goddess. Nay, to them she was the only visible goddess. " We know no goddess other than the one here whose mantle is Karpu ",[21] says Kavunthi Adigal, a saintly Buddhist nun, speaking of Kannagi. It was their unshakeable faith and belief that if the virtuous woman ordered rain to come down, it would come down; that her curse would take instantaneous effect; that one angry look of hers was enough to reduce to ashes anyone daring to molest her; that in the land where virtuous women lived there would be no draught, no barrenness of soil and no destruction of the King's victorious arms.[22]

To the virtuous woman her *Karpu* is not only her shield, but it is also her sword wherewith she could instantly annihilate anyone daring to make improper advances to her, or injure her husband. Kannagi is conscious of this power when she declares that she will destroy Madurai. Sita is conscious of this power when she tells Hanuman, in the Tamil version of *Ramayanam,* that, had Ravana dared to touch her, he would instantly have been reduced to ashes. So the cult of the invincibility of *Karpu* and its God-given power to destroy the offender was supreme in the Tamil land—implicitly believed in by men and women.

The reason for the apotheosis of *Karpu* is not far to seek. The standard set for *Karpu,* as we have seen, is wellnigh impossible for ordinary human beings to attain. Any

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20 உரைபெறுகட்டுரை—3.

21 " கற்புக்கடம்பூண்ட இத்தெய்வமல்லால்
பொற்புடைத் தெய்வம் யாம் கண்டிலமால் ".
அடைக்கலக்காதை—வரி 143-40.

22 அடைக்கலக்காதை—வரி 145-47.

woman coming up to this ideal must be near perfection and therefore of an order higher than the normal human beings. No wonder, then, that she was held in the highest esteem and awe, and looked upon as a goddess on earth.[23]

[23] Moreover, it may well be that a society which allowed a measure of self-indulgence and license to its menfolk, as ancient Tamil society seems to have done, was perhaps more likely, by contrast, to venerate and idealize feminine virtue than one in which self-restraint was practised as much by men as by women.

The Status of Tamil in Ceylon

A historical and comparative study of the bilingual problem

K. NESIAH

I

It was a fateful night, the 14th of June 1956, and the day was breaking when the Ceylon House of Representatives passed by sixty-six votes to twenty-nine the Sinhala Only Act which read : " The Sinhala language shall be the one official language of Ceylon ". The sponsors of the bill were the new Government led by the Hon. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike and composed entirely of Sinhalese-speaking ministers. The vote of every Tamil-speaking member but one, fourteen in all, was cast against the unjust decree. The redeeming feature of the voting was that as many Sinhalese votes were cast against it and one Burgher vote as well.

The future historian who reads the relevant documents would be surprised at the inconsequential nature of State language policy. When the legislators first got interested in the problem it was at a time when the British Government had declared its willingness to concede full responsible Government in internal affairs provided the constitutional scheme had the approval of three quarters of the members of the State Council[1]. This condition probably explains the facility with which the Official Languages Resolution, favouring Sinhalese and Tamil as official languages on equal terms, was passed in May, 1944. A Select Committee worked out a programme to give effect to the

[1] Declaration of H.M. Government, 26 May 1943 (S.P. XVII—1943).

motion[2]. The key recommendation was that by 1957 all public servants should be able to transact business in both national languages: courses in both languages were to be provided in secondary schools to help to achieve this bilingualism in administration. A general election followed, but nothing was done till the eve of the next general election when an Official Languages Commission was appointed to consider ways and means of implementing the recommendations of the previous Committee. A year after the general election the Commission issued its Final Report containing "plans for the quickest possible adoption of such of the proposals of 1946 as are capable of facilitating the transition from English to Sinhalese and Tamil as the official languages of Ceylon without sacrificing the efficiency of the administration"[3]. Within a month of the submission of this report, in October 1953, another Commission, that on Higher Education in the National Languages was appointed, ultimately with the same Chairman who presided over the previous one. The report of this Commission consisted of a majority report, signed by the Chairman and the other three Sinhalese members, and a minority report signed by the three members who belonged to the minority communities.[4] In spite of a directive by the Governor-General to confine themselves to their terms of reference, the minority report questioned the wisdom of government's policy in underrating the place of English while the majority report questioned the wisdom of recognizing two official languages. The majority even went further and in the name of equality of opportunity asked for higher education provision "for at least six Sinhalese-speaking students to every Tamil-speaking student"[5]. They recommended that the Univer-

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2 *Sinhalese and Tamil as Official Languages* (S.P. XXII—1946).

3 *Final Report of the Official Languages Commission* (S. P. XXII—1953).

4 *Final Report of the Commission on Higher Education in the National Languages* (S.P. X—1956).

5 Incidentally, 6 : 1 is not the proportion of Sinhalese speakers to Tamil speakers in Ceylon. It is 7 : 3 according to S.P. XXII—1946.

sity of Ceylon now functioning in Peradeniya and Colombo should be converted into Sinhalese medium universities along with a new such university in Galle. They suggested that a separate Tamil medium university should be established in Batticaloa or Jaffna.

II

That these moves represent an attempt to use language to secure a temporary political advantage for one group rather than as an instrument of national creativity is evidenced by certain political moves during the same period. The Board of Ministers had put forward a constitutional scheme in September 1944 [6], which became the basis of the Soulbury Constitution [7]. The main safeguards for the minorities consisted of a system of weightage in representation in the legislature and a restriction on legislative power. The advocates of the ministerial scheme represented to the Soulbury Commission that of the 95 elected seats, 58 would go to Sinhalese candidates and 37 to the minority candidates (Ceylon Tamils 15, Indian Tamils 14, Muslim 8), making, with six nominated seats, a minority representation of 43 in a House of 101. But when the Constitution was in working, by a series of acts of omission and commission it was possible to reverse the weightage. At the general election of 1956 so many as 74 seats went to the Sinhalese and only 19 to the minority candidates (Ceylon Tamils 12, Muslims 7, Indian Tamils Nil.) The other safeguard, section 29, which forbids discriminatory legislation and requires a two-thirds majority for amending the section, obviously depended on the above proportion being maintained with regard to the number of seats. But, the then government was able to find the necessary majority to waive section 29 and pass the discriminatory Indian and Pakistani (Parliamentary Representation) Act, 1954.

6 *Reform of the Constitution* (S.P. XIV—1944).

7 *Ceylon: Report of the Commission on Constitutional Reform* (H.M.S.O., 1945).

All that can be said in mitigation is that thinking in terms of one's community rather than in terms of the nation is by no means confined to the majority community. The Tamil revolt against these racial policies has in recent years taken the form of a demand for a federal state in Ceylon. So far all that the Federal leader, Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayagam, has been able to secure from Prime Minister Bandaranaike is the assurance that regional councils of the Northern and Eastern Provinces would use Tamil as their main official language and that Tamil would be recognized as the language of a national minority[8]. The inadequacy of this solution does not lie merely in the fact that nearly two-thirds of those who speak Tamil live outside these two provinces; it questions the very basis of a democratic nation — a common citizenship.

The fact of the matter is that in the past, as in India so in Ceylon, the fatherland has tended to be the community of the caste, creed or linguistic group mistaken for a race. But the firm hold of an ancient culture has, as pointed out by Radhakrishnan, prevented many political fatherlands breaking up the solidarity of India. A wonderful tolerance combined with the power of synthesis of different traditions has been the essence of that culture. Indeed through the ages India derived her unity and her individuality from her cultural outlook. To this cultural unity political strength was added by the intense struggle against British rule. The fortunate emergence of great leadership imbued with a lofty moral ideology helped her in the developing period to build an All-India mind and a secular democracy. It was fortunate for her that neither the Hindu revivalists nor the modern materialists have counted in the building of new India, else she might have retreated into medievalism or slipped into totalitarianism. In the event she is shaping into a great modern power without losing the moral grandeur of her native genius.

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[8] This pact was recently declared "null and void" by S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon—*Editor.*

While it is true that Ceylon has also been touched by the Asian awakening, the political struggle here has been relatively lukewarm, the leadership sectional rather than national and the cultural movement more a revival of old forms rather than a renewal of spirit. From one point of view, the present is a conflict between those who think that it would have been an advantage if time had stopped before the advent of the West and those who would reject the past altogether. From another view, the language and racial controversies are at one and the same time a complete repudiation of our age-long ideals of toleration and co-existence as well as the realties of democratic nationhood.

III

The saving factor, however, is contained in Bismark's remark that statesmen cannot alter the currents of history ; they can only steer their little barks. It is true that in early times, when people were not firmly attached to the soil and were still migrating, transplanting, enslaving and shifting frontiers, they freely changed their speech. Language is therefore no clue to race anywhere. In this country there is evidence to support that some groups speaking Sinhalese may have been originally Tamil speakers and some Tamil-speaking groups of today may once have spoken Sinhalese. But with permanency of settlement, the establishment of law and order, the acquiring of literacy and the development of literature and printed books, people came to be wedded to what they regarded as their mother tongue and the thoughts, tradition and history enshrined in that tongue. It is no longer possible to make even small linguistic groups to change their language, not possible to stifle their speech in any way. Witness the persistence with which the few thousand Romansch speaking group in Switzerland have kept to their language and won official status for it.

Our statesmen would do well to hearken to the message of our own history. The bilingual state is the legacy of our history. Ours appears to have always been a bilingual society. The early inscriptions, place names and family names, the documents of the courts of Kotte and Kandy, the curriculum of the medieval pirivenas, the extensive list of common words in the vocabularies of Sinhalese and Tamil all point to the intermingling of the peoples and languages down the ages. During the century and half of the Portuguese sojourn in these coasts, through their schools and the mixing up of large numbers of Portuguese soldiers and civilians with the indigenous population, the Portuguese language became for a time the *lingua franca* of the coastal towns and even reached the independent court of Kandy, but all that is left of the language is a few hundred Portuguese words in the vocabularies of Sinhalese and Tamil. The Dutch language which the Hollanders brought into Ceylon for another century and a half held even less sway. On the other hand the introduction of the printing press by the Dutch in 1737, the casting of types in Sinhalese and Tamil and the writing of books in the local language by Catholic writers steeped in the learning of medieval Europe and by Protestant writers full of the culture of the Renaissance gave fresh impetus to the national languages.

It is, however, the English language, which came into Ceylon with British rule early in the nineteenth century that has had the most abiding influence, for it brought with it a well-developed civilization to confront our own. It came first as an 'usurper' (to use Gandhiji's phrase), with text-books, school curricula and examination schemes all 'made in England'. Not only did it seek to supplant the native languages, but the colonial elite which adopted it tended to separate themselves from the mass of their fellow-countrymen. The first effective criticism of the prevailing system came from Arunachalam who pointed out that by

overlooking their mother-tongue 'the few who have assimilated Western culture and whose mission it should be to interpret the West to the East are disqualified for the great office of writing a good Sinhalese and Tamil literature instinct with the best spirit of modern Europe'. With the political awakening of our time the respective roles of English and the national languages is getting reversed: English is gradually shedding its place as the first language of the few and becoming the second language of many.

No less far-reaching has been the political unification that has followed British rule. Helped by a common administration and a common citizenship and facilities, for travel and employment on an Island-wide basis, there has been social and territorial mobility on a gigantic scale. To add to this, the opening of the plantations and the bringing of labour from South India has resulted in the settlement in the hill country of a Tamil-speaking population who now constitute nearly one-eighth of the Island's population. We have now become irrevocably a multi-lingual, multi-religious society. Sinhalese is mother tongue to 69% of the Island's nine million population; Tamil is spoken by 29%, including the 12% who are of Indian origin. Though English has bestowed for over a century every political, economic and social advantage to those who knew it, it is understood only by 6% of the total population, English literacy being most pronounced in the City of Colombo. On the other hand, without any adventitious aid, the social and geographical interspersion of Sinhalese and Tamil account for 9% of the nation being bilingual in Sinhalese and Tamil, or in the urban areas 18%. Ceylon's modern towns too owe their existence to the impact of the West and the growth of a multi-lingual society is most reflected in the composition of the population of these towns. In several of them from a third to a half of the population is bilingual; Colombo is the supreme example.

The bigger English schools helped to make some sense out of this cosmopolitan society. They became compre-

hensive in their composition and drew their pupils from all sections and from all parts of the country. Even with the change over to the Swabasha medium some of these schools are taking pains to preserve their cosmopolitan character. The University of Ceylon likewise reflects the entire nation, its 2500 enrolment representing 60% Sinhalese-speaking, 36% Tamil-speaking, 4% English and other language-speaking homes. These institutions and their alumni represent the first group of people in this country who come closest to being described as Ceylonese rather than as Sinhalese or Tamils or Muslims or Burghers. That some of the noblest institutions of the past like the Totagamuwa Pirivena of Ceylon or the Nalanda University of India were cosmopolitan in their composition and catholic in their outlook puts our modern schools in line with our inheritance.

IV

Just as under conditions of British rule we became a multi-lingual society, under the new legal system we became equally irrevocably a free and equal society. Under the principle of the rule of law, the same law for all and all equal before the law, all persons, men and women, found themselves released from a casteistic social order and from the conception that the nation is a bundle of communities. It has not taken long for equality before the law to be followed by equality at the polls and some measure of economic and educational equality. In time all citizens will demand the right to equal participation in Government and an equal share in the benefits of administration. No citizen will agree to be treated differently from any other. That is democracy's ultimate safeguard.

That is not to say that the battle for democracy will be easily won. Accustomed methods of thinking die hard. Witness the thought of leading men, including a former Chief Justice, who said that the community of higher

learning should be a racial community and that the access to such learning should be rationed among members of different communities according to numbers. Similar proposals have been made in India. It is, however, refreshing to note that the Radhakrishnan Commission rejected the rationing of seats.[9] " The fundamental right is the right of the individual, not of the community. Every young man must have an equal chance with others, to make the most of his abilities ". They opposed the assumption in " quotas " that the nation is composed of separate and self-sufficient groups as " a negation of the national ideal and democratic principle ".

Equally untenable is the position when a political party composed of one racial group, seeks a mandate from that group, and seeks to establish a government by that group for the benefit primarily of that group. If rights do not belong to racial communities, there can be no more rights to racial majorities than to racial minorities. Referring to a similar situation in India, Asoka Mehta writes : " When a religious community, a language group, an occupation, a class, or a political party makes sovereign claims and reduces all other associations to the status of satellities democracy is destroyed ".[10]

Politicians may not always be far-sighted, but the professional administrator is a stabilizing element in a democratic government. Himself selected on merit, his job is to ensure, as impartially as he can, equal rights to all citizens. Unlike the politician, the public servant belongs to ' all ' not to ' some '. To be able to serve all alike, whether in the public offices, the courts of law, the transport services or the hospitals, he should be able to understand both Sinhalese and Tamil. You cannot run a modern administration on any other basis. That is why, even when English was the unquestioned official language,

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9 *Report of the University Education Commission*, 1949 (Govt. of India Press).

10 Article in *Times of India*.

the British administration found it necessary to require a working knowledge of both Sinhalese and Tamil of all higher officials.

V

It may be worth while examining the different linguistic situations in the modern world. They may be classified as follows :—

(A) Unilingual countries

(B) Multilingual countries, which may have either :
- One official language, or
- More than one official language, either :
  - A federal language and other regional languages, or
  - Bilingual states, which may be :
    - Unitary states, or
    - Federal states.

Often it is a language that has articulated a state of its own. There are quite a number of unilingual states in the world, Britain and France being good examples. Strength also accrues to these states because people come to believe that those who speak the same language are of the same racial stock and are different from other linguistic groups elsewhere. If the essence of nationhood is mental homogeneity then the possession of a common language-culture makes for the stability of unilingual states.

The second main category consists of the many multilingual nations of the world. These have not always successfully solved problems arising from language differences, but where they have solved them it has been a real achievement. The solutions have generally taken either of two forms, one official language, or more than one. Examples of the former range from Thailand where the Thai language is exclusively used in administration and in

schools to Malaya where though English, and now Malay, have special status some measure of cultural recognition is given to Chinese and Tamil. The U.S.A. also belongs to the group of countries which have but one official language. The fact that English is home language to nearly 90% of the population and that the remaining 10% originated from some twenty-five different nationalities gives a natural supremacy to the English language. Minorities are, however, not debarred from conducting their own schools without state aid.

But several multi-lingual countries have had to give official status to more than one language. Here again the solution has varied. Large countries with a number of languages, like India and the U.S.S.R., have adopted the most widely spoken language as the official inter-state language (Hindi in the case of India,* Russian in the case of the U.S.S.R.) and given official recognition as regional and national languages to the other major languages. The claims of these languages have also compelled India to adopt a linguistic re-distribution of the states. The position which English has acquired by historic circumstance in India and its value as an international language gives it a special place in higher education and as an additional federal language alongside of Hindi for many years to come.

Perhaps the happiest solution has been in countries which already possessing some degree of bilingualism decided to adopt bilingualism as national policy. Some of these are unitary states like Finland, Belgium and South Africa. Finland has followed a bold language policy. Finnish is spoken by 91% of its four million population ; the remaining 9% speak Swedish. Both languages are official

* The position is somewhat different. Under the Constitution, English will continue as the Official Language of the Indian Union till 1965, when alone Hindi can become a full fledged Official Language. Meantime there is already determined opposition to this constitutional provision on the ground that it discriminates in favour of Hindi and against the other Indian languages. This opposition can be met only by retaining English as the Official Language indefinitely i.e. by maintaining the *status quo.* —*Editor.*

languages. This is scrupulously extended to every sphere, including street names and the telephone directory. Both languages are taught at school from the earliest classes. But Finnish and Swedish are minor languages and so two major languages, English and German, are compulsory in the secondary school, making four languages obligatory for the matriculation examination. Federal states which have given equal status to two or more languages and built a single nation out of different elements are Switzerland and Canada. In Switzerland German-Swiss is spoken by 72%, French by 21% and Italian by 6%, but all are equal federal languages ; conventions about the composition of the executive government which have never been broken add to the strength of the Republic. Canada's French-Canadian minority of 30% live largely in Quebec Province. Both English and French are federal languages and official languages in Quebec. A member may speak in English or French in both parliaments and the speech from the throne is delivered in both English and French. Government publications, postage stamps and currency notes all carry the message of unity. There are also conventions about the composition of the government and the supreme court. Throughout Canada the study of both national languages is promoted in the secondary schools and universities. A striking example is the University of British Columbia with a Chair of French Canadian Literature in a province where French Canadians number but 3½%. This is the sort of provision which makes French Canadians look to Canada rather than to France for the development of their distinctive culture.[11]

VI

Three conclusions may be drawn from this study :—

(1) The steps taken by the Government of Ceylon during the past few years to promote Sinhalese

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[11] For the constitutional provisions of Finland and Switzerland, 'Language Rights in Ceylon' by Xavier S. Thani Nayagam in *Tamil Culture* Vol. V. No. 3.

and Tamil as media of instruction in schools have been in the right direction. But till Tamil is given the status of an official language throughout Ceylon, education will lack the incentive that comes from using in school the language of administration and civic life. But more than education will suffer. Since the status of a language is the symbol of a people's freedom, equal standing and honour, Tamil-speaking Ceylon will harbour the resentment of being treated as inferior. But state recognition is not all. Not till the people, whether Tamil-speaking or Sinhalese-speaking, get a burning conviction that their future in civilization is bound up with creations in their own tongue and 'what they have inherited from their fathers they must earn anew if they woulds't possess it', not till then, would they succeed in the strenuous task of turning their ancient languages to the uses of today. To use language as an instrument of domination or conflict is to postpone its use as an instrument of civilization. To want to curb the full flowering of either Sinhalese or Tamil is to deny to Sri Lanka the full expression of her variegated personality. Nor will Subramania Bharati's patriotic poems of India answer to the needs of the Tamils of Ceylon: Ilam's own poets must sing Ilam's praise whether in Tamil or Sinhalese.

(2) A positive nationalism will promote the study of each other's language and culture as an indispensable means of welding a multi-group society into a strong nation. Each language-culture must be the prized possession of both groups, the two traditions regarded as complementary to each other. National bilingualism must become a conviction, rather than a concession. To this end, as many institutions of learning should be consciously planned so as to provide opportunities of learning each other through each other's language and each other's language through each other.

(3) If it takes two languages to make a nation, it takes more than two to make a great nation. A little

while before his death Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan* with characteristic insight:

> My plea is for banishing English as a cultural usurper as we successfully banished the political rule of the English usurper. The rich English language will ever retain its natural place as the international speech of commerce and diplomacy .... As it contains some of the richest treasures of thought and literature, I would certainly encourage its careful study among those who have linguistic talents and expect them to translate those treasures for the nation in its vernaculars.

It is neither likely nor desirable that an English-speaking elite should be reared in the future, nor on the other hand is universal English possible even if it is desirable. Some 80% of the population, chiefly in the rural areas, are not likely to profit by a study of English and should be content to be indirectly influenced by books and men who have received the inspiration of English (and other foreign languages). For about 18%, who have completed secondary education, English will serve as 'an instrument of communication'. It is for the remaining 2% that English will be a 'creative medium.'—"Not that we shall produce poets and writers who will contribute to English letters, but we should not despair of having scholars, and writers who can attempt creative writing in English in their chosen fields and statesmen and leaders of thought who can make a significant contribution in world assemblies. But the most abiding contribution of the nation's thinkers will have to be in the people's own language. Those who cannot speak in Swabasha will not be heard; those who do not know English will have little to say."[12]

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[12] "The Place of English" in Humayun Kabir: *Education in New India.*

Reviews

THE KONGU COUNTRY

By DR. M. AROKIASWAMI
Reader in Indian History and Archaeology,
University of Madras.
Madras University Historical Series, No. 22,
pp. VII, 420—*Rs.* 15.

The Tamil country has from time immemorial been regarded as composed of three kingdoms: Chera, Chola and Pandya. Dr. Arokiaswami stakes out in this book a claim for a fourth region, the Kongu country. If the boundaries of the old triune division are indeterminate, the boundaries of Kongu are still more so. The Kongu country waxes and wanes within the covers of this book.

So much for the Geography. Of history the author has assembled together all the literary and epigraphical references concerning the area he has defined as Kongu. The survey begins with prehistoric lists and ends with the Mysore wars. That means that till about the 8th century we are moving in a world of conjecture. The literature that is put under contribution defies chronological arrangement; it is unsafe to build on phonetic similarities. So we move through a world of ghosts — the Satyaputra, the Kosas, the Kongus, the Kalabhras. Mere reinterpretation of well-worn materials will not give us a satisfactory history of South India.

We emerge out of this twilight with the Rattas. Then come the Gangas and the sequence of South Indian empires that we know well. The author gives some attention to social and economic factors. He brings up the narra-

tive to recent times. The book has the merit of bringing together all the historical material referring to a fairly well-defined region of the Tamil country. That region has always been the meeting, if not fighting, ground between the Tamils on the one hand and to the west and the north, the Chera and Karnataka countries respectively. All the peculiar features of the region, such as they are, derive from this geographical fact that it is the valley of the Cauvery leading up to the Ghats on the north and the west. Within his self-imposed limits the author has done well.

F. M.

AN APPRECIATION OF OUR JOURNAL, *TAMIL CULTURE*

EXTRACT OF LETTER OF DR. ROBERT SKELTON,
Dept. of Foreign Languages, Alabama Polytechnic Institute,
Auburn, Alabama.

"I find your publication highly interesting and appreciate the fact that it appears in a language I know. One can be interested in a language, a people and its culture even tho' he possesses no competence in Tamil.

Sincerely yours,
ROBERT SKELTON."

News and Notes

THIRUKKURAL TEST AT 40 CENTRES

The All-Ceylon Thirukkural Test organised by the Thamil Marai-k-Kalagam was held this year, at 40 centres throughout Ceylon on March 8th. Nearly 3,000 candidates sent in applications.

Four gold medals and twelve silver medals are offered by the Kalagam for those who obtain the first four places in each grade. (There are four grades). There are also many consolation prizes of books.

The prizes and certificates will be distributed at the sixth annual Thirukkural Conference of the Thamil Marai-k-Kalagam to be held in Batticaloa on June 1st in connexion with Thiruvalluvar Day celebrations.

—*Times of Ceylon.*

THE DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES

Need for Research Stressed

MADRAS, Feb. 7.

The 31-year-old Czech scholar in Tamil, Dr. Kamil Zvelebil, said here last evening that Indologists not only of his country but all over the world felt that there was a "special neglect" of the study of Dravidian languages, literature and culture, which was certainly a "very bad situation." He stressed the need for taking up right now research into the Dravidian languages and their literature, which, to Indologists "seemed" to have played an "enormous part" in the evolution of Indian culture.

The Czech scholar, who has now stayed for about ten days in the City in connection with his study of the Tamil language, literature and culture, said that he had not been alone in this venture and mentioned the names of scholars in Holland, France and other European countries, who "have been working in the field of Tamil literature." "We have seen", Dr. Zvelebil went on to say, "that even the language of Rig Veda, the most ancient document of Sanskrit, has been influenced profoundly by the Dravidian languages. This is not theory. This is a fact." "So I feel that it is high time to start studying the Dravidian languages," the Czech scholar stated.

Dr. Zvelebil, who was speaking at a reception accorded to him by the Tamil Writers' Association, at the Mahajana Sabha Hall, Mount Road, said that there was a proposal to take a young Tamil scholar or a post-graduate student to Prague as a Lecturer in Tamil, and at the same time, help him in the Orient Institute in his country to analyse some of the *Sangam* texts. He expressed the hope that they would be able to find someone who would help them in Prague for at least two or three years.

"SILLAPPADHIKARAM"

The large gathering of Tamil writers heard with rapt attention the young foreigner read his prepared speech in Tamil as clearly as any one of them. Dr. Zvelebil said that since 1949—when he was 22 years—he had begun to learn the Dravidian languages, especially Tamil. He and his colleagues were doing research in the Dravidian languages and their literatures and studying the civilization obtaining in the Dravidian countries. In leisure hours, they were trying to write articles in Tamil in the magazine they were publishing and were also bringing out books in Tamil. The speaker said that since last year he had taken up the translation of *Silappadhikaram,* which he hoped to complete next year. He expressed a wish to translate the *Nadodi* compositions also and write a book on India's civi-

lization and culture for the benefit of his countrymen. He ended up reciting the verse in Tamil: " Vazhga nirandharam, vazhga Tamizh mozhi, vazhiya vazhiyave."

Asked if there was any similarity between the Tamil and Czech languages, Dr. Zvelebil said that they were absolutely different. Tamil belonged to the Dravidian family of languages and the Czech to the Slav family of languages, he explained. There was perhaps a relationship between Finnish and Hungarian languages on the one side and Tamil on the other. This was only a theory, but it was well-founded, he said.

Mr. V. Swaminatha Sarma, President of the Association, who was in the chair, said that though Dr. Zvelebil had come here for the first time, as one interested in and doing research in Tamil, he (Dr. Zvelebil), was not new to them. If, in a country, where Tamil was not spoken and taught, he had made such a great study of this language and its literature, it only showed the great interest he had for Tamil. Dr. Zvelebil was a scholar in Tamil, English, Czech and Sanskrit and was doing research in Malayalam, Telugu, Greek and Latin. His translation of the Tamil novel, " Panchum Pasiyum ", proved popular in Czechoslovakia, where 30,400 copies were sold. Many other books, which he had translated, were also sold in thousands, Mr. Sarma said.

Mr. Kodumudi Rajagopalan, General Secretary, who, earlier welcomed the gathering, in proposing a vote of thanks, assured the Czech scholar that every assistance would be extended to him during his stay in this country to pursue his studies.

—*The Hindu*

PRE-HARAPPA CULTURE

KARACHI, Feb. 26.

Remnants of a pre-historic civilisation, believed to be more ancient than the Indus Valley Civilisation, are reported to have been found by Dr. F. A. Khan, Superintendent of the Exploration Department of Pakistan Archaeology in Kot Diji, a site 15 miles south of Kahripur town in West Pakistan.

Mr. Khan told a Press conference here today that these finds "may antedate the well-developed Harappa phases dated 2300 B.C. by as much as 200 years".

There were indications, he said, that authors of pottery found in Kot Diji were forerunners of the Harappans in many respects. Though different in form and technique their ceramic products are in no way less artistic than the highly sophisticated black and hard pottery of the Harappans.

—*The Hindu*

VAISHNAVITE TEACHINGS

MADRAS, March 2.

Five publications in English—four on the life and works of Vaishnavite Acharyas and the fifth on Kamban — brought out by the Triplicane Tamil Sangam were released to the public at a function held this morning at the Ahobila Mutt, Triplicane, under the presidentship of Mr. S. T. Srinivasagopalachariar.

The booklets written by Mr. P. R. Tirumalai Iyengar, are entitled: "Life and Works of Sri Manavala Maha Muni", "Life and Works of Sri Vedanta Desika", "Tiruc-chinnamalai of Sri Vedanta Desika", "The Chatussloki of Alavandar" and "Kamban, the Prince among Tamil Poets."

Mr. T. S. Parthasarathy, President of the Sangham, explained that the Sangham was bringing out books in English so that the great works in Tamil could be popularised among the English-reading public.

—*The Hindu*

PALLAVA GRANTS

Evidence of Copper Plates

MADRAS, March 1.

The description of a set of copper plates, perhaps the earliest and the only copper-plate record, registering a grant to the Jainas by the Pallava monarchs either in the Tamil country or in the Telugu area under their rule, was given by Mr. T. N. Subramaniam, Epigraphist, at a meeting held under the auspices of the Archaelogical Society of India at Government Museum, Egmore, last evening.

Mr. Subramaniam said that the set of copper plate grant was unearthed a few years ago at Pallan Koil, a village about four miles from Tiruthuraipundi in Tanjore District. Along with this was also obtained another set consisting of seven odd sheets of a different grant. The sheets of the latter set written in the Tamil script of about the eleventh century A.D. contained only the details of the boundaries of the land gifted on *pallichandam,* that is, endowment to a temple of the Jaina or the Buddhist faith. This latter grant, had it been recovered in full, would have been a much bigger set registering the gift by a monarch of the Imperial Cholas of Tanjore. The copper plates were now in the possession of Mr. S. Rajam of Messrs. Murray and Co.

The copper grant consisted of five sheets of copper strung in a ring of the same metal, and passing through a hole on the left side of the plates in the middle. The ends of the ring were soldered at the bottom of a circular seal,

having the emblem of a couchant bull facing the proper right. There were also a few other symbols which could not be made out due to the corroded condition of the seal. One line of writing mentioning the name of Simhavarman, in whose reign the grant was issued, ran round those figures near the edge. The outer faces of the first and last plates of the set were left blank, while the three middle plates, were written on both the sides. Thus the inscription contained eight pages of writing, beginning on the inner side of the first plate and ending with the inner side of the last plate. Each side contained eight lines, the whole set thus having a total of 64 lines. The first sheet was found broken into two, the left half remaining with the set strung in the ring through the hole and the right half had been entirely lost. Thus, only the beginning of the first eight lines were available.

As was usual with the copper plate grants of the Pallavas and the Cholas found in the Tamil country, the record consisted of two parts, the first one in Samskrit composed in verses running for eighteen lines written in the Grantha script, and the second, consisting of forty-six lines in Tamil prose and each part was complete in itself, though complementary to one another. The immediate object of the grant was to register the gift of a village and other property to the temple of Vardhamana at Paruthikkunru, placed in the hands of the Jaina preceptor, Vajra Nandi of the Nandi Samgha, to meet the expenses of worship.

After describing the inscriptions, the speaker said that the grant was made in the sixth year of the reign of Simhavarman, in the third quarter of the Sixth Century A.D. The military exploits of Simha Vishnu, his son, were described in the inscriptions. Simha Vishnu was the father of Mahendra Varman I, the excavator of rock-cut temples in the Tamil country.

—*The Hindu*

VALLATHOL, THE EMINENT POET OF KERALA

MADRAS, March 13.

The passing away of Vallathol Narayana Menon removes from the field of Malayalam literature a towering personality which had profoundly influenced his countrymen for about six decades. He emerged into prominence in the early years of this century and was hailed as one of the trinity of modern Malayalam literature. The others, Kumaran Asan and Ullur S. Parameswara Aiyar, predeceased him.

Narayana Menon was born in 1879 in a village near Tirur in Ponnani taluk of Malabar. Vallathol, the name by which he was popularly known, was the name of his *tarawad*. He took to Sanskrit studies early in life, and when he was still 20 attained proficiency in *Kavya, Nataka* and *Alankara*. He started writing poetry while yet a student, and some of his early works attracted the attention of men of letters, who, without hesitation, forecast a promising literary career for him.

The literary genius of Vallathol received quick public recognition. He was acclaimed a " Mahakavi " by fellow-writers. The Maharaja of Cochin conferred on him the title of " Kavi Sarvabhauman ", and the erstwhile Cochin Government ordered the payment of a monthly allowance of Rs. 15 to him. The Maharaja of Travancore State honoured the poet by presenting him with a *Veerasringala*. The Samastha Kerala Sahitya Parishad, the organisation of men of letters of Kerala, elected him as President.

The composite Madras Government created Vallathol Narayana Menon the Poet-Laureate for Malayalam, when they introduced the institution of Poet-laureates.

In 1954 the President conferred the title of Padma Vibhushan on him.

Vallathol has immortalised his name by his renderings into Malayalam verse of classical works like the Ramayana and the *Rig Veda* and his original works such as *Magdalana Mariyam* (Mary of Magdalene), *Sishyanum Makanum* (Disciple and Son), *Achchanum Makalum* (Father and daughter), *Ganapati, Bandhanastanaya Anirudhan,* (Captive Anirudhan) and *Kochu Sita.*

The poet lost his hearing in 1912. He later wrote a poem entitled *Badhira vilapam* (Lament of a deaf man).

The poet came under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi when the latter launched the civil disobedience movement. He vigorously championed the national cause through the poetic medium. He wrote incessantly exhorting the people to join the non-violent struggle. He wrote an eloquent appeal for boycotting foreign goods. Another fine poem written by him about that period is *My Master*—a poetic tribute to the Father of the Nation.

After the attainment of independence the poet took an active interest in the "peace campaign" launched by the World Peace Congress. He attended the Peace Congress session in Warsaw and was elected to its presidium. The Congress gave him a great ovation when he read a Malayalam poem calling for peace which he had specially written for the occasion.

Vallathol had travelled widely. He undertook an extensive tour of North India as early as in 1929. He visited Malaya and Burma later to raise funds for the Kerala Kalamandalam. He toured the Soviet Union and Europe in 1950 as a member of a cultural delegation sponsored by the Government of India. In 1953 he undertook a tour of China with Kathakali troupe.

Vallathol was keenly interested in the advancement of Arts. He found that the art of Kathakali had fallen into

evil days and decided to work for its revival. With that end in view he organised the Kerala Kalamandalam at Cheruthuruthi near Shoranur which he had made his home, over a quarter of a century ago.

The work done by the Kalamandalam for the uplift of Kathakali is well-known. Practically all the leading Kathakali artistes of to-day were at one time or other students of this institution. The poet carried on the work of the institution against heavy odds. Over a year ago, Prime Minister Nehru made a handsome donation for the maintenance of the Kalamandalam. Later, the Kerala Government took over the institution to be run as a State academy for arts, and appointed the poet himself as its Director.

Poet Vallathol was a rebel against conventions. He made many innovations in Malayalam Poetry. The most important of them was the change of metre from *slokas* to Dravidian metre, which has now become very popular in Malayalam.

—*The Hindu*

Official Language of the Indian Union

"HINDI WILL CREATE SPLIT"—C. R.

CALL TO FIGHT "INJUSTICE"

CALCUTTA, Mar. 8.

Ten thousand Bengalis filling every available inch in the Calcutta University Institute and squatting all along the streets in College Square cheered their first State Governor after Independence, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, as he called on the people to fight to the end " the injustice of discrimination in favour of Hindi."

" If you yield to fear and pressure, you lose the battle," he warned, addressing the inaugural session of the All-India Language Conference, presided over by the Indian jurist, Dr. Radha Binod Pal, and addressed among others, by Master Tara Singh and Mr. Frank Anthony.

" We must fight our case, even if we are helplessly defeated. We will not be dead, we will still fight. We have no passion against Hindi. But we can never agree to Hindi-speaking people becoming the concrete heroes of India. It is unfair to impose the mother-tongue of 42 per cent of the total people on the other 58 per cent," Mr. Rajagopalachari said.

" Dr. Sampurnanand and Sri Sri Krishna Sinha have failed to introduce Hindi as the State language in their own States. And they want Hindi to be the official language in bigger areas. It is time the Hindi fanatics concentrate on their own States. When they succeed, let them come to West Bengal or Madras ".

"We must make the Union official language a secular thing, not a fanatical thing". Rajaji said, pleading for maintenance of the *status quo* in India's linguistic set-up with English as the official language.

PAINTED UNITY.

> "The Hindi flag will create disintegration and disunity all over India, if not at once, in the very near future. The unity claimed for Hindi is painted unity. Despite the existence of different linguistic groups in Madras and Hyderabad there was all along unity and synthesis. Hindi is now planting seeds of disunity for the first time."

Mr. Rajagopalachari referred to the complaints often repeated against him that he was aligning himself with undesirable political elements to win his battle against Hindi imperialism. "I do not accept the political policy of any party other than the Congress. I can say with all the emphasis I can command that language is not a political question."

"In 1947 we had the right to give up English. Why did we not do it ? Has it failed us ? Has it created any disunity ? It produced no disunity, no corruption ; other things did. It is ungrateful to turn English into a foreign language. We have become so agreeable to it. The Russians may send their Sputniks highest, but they can never produce a language as great as the English language" said Mr. Rajagopalachari, continuing his defence of English as the most appropriate official language for India.

Addressing the conference, Mr. Frank Anthony said he was against the use of the word 'Hindi', and expressed his fears that it would be seized upon as a vehicle for communalism and language chauvinism. The last seven or eight years had seen his worst fear materialise. "The new Hindi, as it continues to develop, is not a language but a

language burlesque. Self-styled Hindi lexicographers and self-appointed Hindi purists have been busy competing with one another in evolving all manners of fantastic and unfamiliar words and phrases," he said.

"But worse than the stilted, unreal character of the new Hindi is the fact that it has become increasingly the symbol of all that is reactionary and retrograde in the country. The new Hindi today is the symbol of communalism, it is the symbol of religion, it is the symbol of language chauvinism, and worst of all, it is the symbol of oppression of the minority languages," Mr. Anthony added.

In his presidential address Dr. Radha Binod Pal said: "The Congress Government, it seems, is displaying in its linguistic policy a characteristic authoritarianism. The proposed linguistic regimentation of the Indian people would indeed be unique in history. It is indeed a tragedy that the traditional articulations of the social structure of people which have gradually and naturally developed through the ages should be so confounded. Our attachment to the Congress has long been almost inextricably identified with a picture of man endowed with sufficient wisdom and selflessness to endure power and to use it infallibly for the general good. It must, however, be confessed now that the optimism seems to have given us a soft and shallow conception of human nature."

The P.T.I. adds: Mr. Rajagopalachari told the conference: "Hindi is as much foreign to the non-Hindi-speaking people as English to the protagonists of Hindi. If, therefore, Hindi is pushed to a position to which it did not aspire, it will create disunity. We should take a lesson from what is happening in the Punjab."

It was bad, Mr. Rajagopalachari said, to raise slogans like "English is a foreign language." He said it might be of foreign origin but "we are encouraging many things of foreign origin like foreign aid,

commonwealth, legislative procedure and our political and democratic institutions. English has served us well during all these years. It did not create any trouble in the country as Hindi is creating today. It is one of the finest languages of the world. If we want to acquire modern knowledge we must not give up English," he said.

One of the reasons for the anti-Hindi feeling in the South, Mr. Rajagopalachari said, was the talk of English as a foreign language. If Hindi protagonists had not referred to English as a foreign language, possibly the opposition to Hindi in the South would have been less, he said.

It was emphasised, Mr. Rajagopalachari said, that Hindi was essential for the unity of India, but what they actually found was that, instead of unity, this Hindi movement was producing disunity in the country. The same argument, he added, was put forward by the British rulers when the people of India launched their struggle for independence. They said there must be one religion and one language to form a nation and without national unity, they asked, how could freedom be granted ? Today, he said, India had attained freedom although she had many languages and many religions.

Rajaji referred to a recent speech of Prime Minister Nehru in which he had stated, without mentioning any name, that he (Mr. Nehru) wondered how some people could advocate continuance of English which was a foreign language.

> Mr. Rajagopalachari said : "Obviously, he was referring to me. But I never advocated that English should be the national language of India. What I suggested was that English can be the official language at the top-level. That will create unity between the people of the States all over India."

Mr. Rajagopalachari said, if there were two languages in a State both could be the official languages. " Marathi and Gujerati are in one State—Bombay (God bless that one State) and both will have the official status. Similarly, in the Punjab Gurmukhi and Hindi had been agreed upon to be the official languages and I hope there will be no further trouble in that State on the issue. But it is a lesson for all of us. We should understand the danger of errors which we may commit in regard to language. Here Hindi is being made the Union official language in spite of the feelings all over the country, specially in non-Hindi speaking areas like Bengal and the southern States."

Mr. Rajagopalachari said : " If Hindi was imposed—I would not use the word ' imposed ' (but I do not know what else they are doing) as our leaders do not like the word ' imposition '—they think we all agree to this. Today, whether we agree to this or not, they have their agencies in the various States and they all belong to one party and cannot escape the party discipline. If, therefore, Hindi is pushed like that we must look at what is happening in the Punjab. There is trouble in spite of the fact that the State Government had been a party to the agreement. I do not want to forecast but God alone knows what will happen if Hindi was pushed like that. We should all learn a lesson from the Punjab," he added.

Mr. Rajagopalachari said if unity was to be produced through the official language he did not understand its meaning. " Does it mean there is no unity in the country ? Then we have to wind up our business. But so far as I know, the present unity is very good and I do not know why we should try to improve upon this unity. It may ultimately spoil the whole thing. We should have common-sense to see what is happening in the country. If the all-India official language is to be Hindi whether in 1965, 1970 or 1990, then of course preparations are necessary from even now and you all know the President himself is inte-

rested in doing all these. We should not, therefore, go to sleep but we should have to say that our consent is not there and we are seriously against it, not merely in principle or in the matter of time and in preparation, but in every respect.

> Pointing to a language map of India, Mr. Rajagopalachari asked the large audience if they were prepared to concede the demand of the Hindi-speaking people, forming 42 per cent of the total population of India. " No, no " came the quick reply.

He said if Hindi was accepted as the official language of India, the vast majority of the people would automatically be reduced to an inferior status.

There was some argument about Hindi language that it was inefficient. He thought this argument was irrelevant. " The main point is we are against any discrimination in favour of any regional language over other regional languages. Hindi may be a very good language and, if you want to progress in commerce and trade, if you want to do business with Hindi-speaking people, you have to talk to them in that language and we should all learn the language spoken in a large area to the best of our capacity but it should not be made the official language. We should be clear in our minds as to what we can concede and what we cannot. We are not dealing with enemies. We are dealing with our friends, with our own Governments and we should not be afraid of telling them what we feel about it," he said.

Rajaji said they could never allow Hindi-speaking people having greater advantage over others. They could not allow one regional language to be raised to a level to which other languages were not raised. " There were in India fourteen major languages. English was also there like the oceans and mountains in India's geography. How could one give it up ? " he asked.

He said there were many persons inside that big organisation (Congress) even among the Hindi-speaking people, who did not like introduction of Hindi as the official language. But they dared not open their mouth about it. India was habituated to submit to compulsion and, if compulsion was applied, it might succeed, he said.

Hindi, he said, could not bring anything original. It could not bring modern knowledge. Before they could translate one book into Hindi a new book of knowledge in English might be before them. Since they had already acquired English, there was no point in giving it up, he said.

Mr. Rajagopalachari said the language issue produced disintegration. Madras was split up and so also Hyderabad. Even the strong Prime Minister who had the deepest conviction against disintegration, had to yield. He might not admit this, but it was there. That was why, he said recently that his policy on language was flexible.

Clear stand urged

Mr. Rajagopalachari asked the conference to take a clear stand on the issue. He said : "We have justice on our side and we should not give up the cause because it is not a personal fight. If we accept the position in which we are being driven into, we will be relegated to a position which will not be fair to us. Even if we are hopelessly defeated, we should not give it up. We must do the right thing and I am certain we will win."

Tara Singh's appeal

Master Tara Singh referred to the recent Hindi movement in the Punjab and said :

> "Let the Hindi-speaking brethren of ours think calmly and get rid of their prejudices. Of course, conquerors have always forced their language on the conquered. The Pathans and the Moghals forced Persian

upon us and the British, their own language, English. But the Hindi protagonists are not the conquerors and we are not the conquered."

The Sikh leader said in selecting a language for inter-State purposes, they should consider which language was the richest. The need for a world language for India was already being felt and English had every chance in this regard. " If, at any future time, however, it is found necessary to create a suitable inter-State language out of our present Indian languages, nobody can prevent us from doing so. But this can be done by the goodwill and support of all sections of our nation and at this moment every Indian language should have a fair chance of development and of enriching itself." Master Tara Singh added.

Dr. Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates, said it would be wiser for them to wait to determine as to which Indian language would be suitable for carrying on national affairs.

—*Sunday Standard,* 9-3-1958.

ENGLISH AS UNION OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

Demand For Amendment Of Constitution

REMOVAL OF TIME-LIMIT URGED BY CONFERENCE

CALCUTTA, March 9.

The All-India Language Conference, sponsored by the Association for the Advancement of National Languages, wound up its two-day session by passing 12 resolutions the dominant theme of which was the amendment of the Constitution to enable retention of English as India's official lan-

guage without any time-limit and that Hindi was only a regional language, which could never be accepted as national language.

The resolution suggesting the amendment of the Constitution, which was moved by Mr. A. Subbiah, pointed out that by not fixing any time-limit for English as official language the right of future generations to take a decision on the matter would not be curtailed. He explained, however, that this did not mean that English should necessarily be carried on for ever as the Union official language. The question could be settled in course of time, according to the requirements of the situation.

In another resolution, the Conference said that the Gauhati resolution of the Congress made no advance on the present Constitutional position on the question. The Congress had merely reiterated the policy to raise Hindi to the position of official language of India whether at a near or distant date.

Grave injustice to Non-Hindi people

The Conference felt that English should continue to be the language for recruitment to the All-India Services as otherwise difficulties would arise and undesirable discrimination would result.

One resolution stated that any attempt to raise any regional language to the position of Union official language for carrying on Central Government's business and inter-State affairs would result in grave injustice and discontent among the people adversely affected. Another resolution warned that any attempt to replace English as Union language would result in the deterioration of the study of English at the Universities and schools and thus affect the flow of modern knowledge into India.

Concern was expressed at the situation in the Punjab where " the settlement reached regarding the State lan-

guage was sought to be disturbed and feelings were still strained." It was added that any attempt to give Hindi a position of pre-eminence in other parts of India might result in unpleasant consequences.

To treat Hindi as a national language, stated another resolution, would be unreal and instead of promoting the unity of the country as sought to be made out, it would lead a larger section of people of the country to feel that they had been relegated to an inferior position.

Speaking on this resolution, Mr. E. V. K. Sampath, M.P., said that in the name of unity the Hindi fanatics were really trying to impose uniformity and wanted to subjugate millions of people.

RAJAJI'S WARNING AGAINST DANGER

"We have no right to mortgage the future"

"I have come out of retirement to lead the movement against the imposition of Hindi as India's official language, because I realise that this error will affect the future of our country, especially our administration which will deteriorate and consequently create disunity," stated Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, winding up the two-day All-India Language Convention.

"Added to this was the fact that the present generation had no right to mortgage the future of the younger generation of our country," Rajaji said.

Mr. Rajagopalachari said he was handing over the leadership of the movement to Bengal but cautioned them against launching any movement of action. "It was imperative", he added, that "we should proceed calmly and cautiously". He was sure that the Prime Minister was not in the Hindi movement and he was essentially a man of peace bent on achieving modernisation and progress. If people approached the language problem calmly he was sure they would meet with success.

Prof. M. Rutnaswami, who presided in the unavoidable absence of Dr. Radha Binod Pal, President of the Convention in his concluding remarks, stressed that the Convention had dealt only with the question of official language and not of the national language which had to be settled by the people of India. He trusted that the Government of India would study the resolution of the Convention bearing this in mind.

Centre's alignment with Provincial Movement

Mr. Rajagopalachari uttered a stern warning to the Government of India against aligning with the movement for Hindi which was provincial in character and regretted that Parliament and the Government of India were being hustled into supporting this provincial movement. Expressing his surprise at the strange combination he said that the alignment would spell ruin to the Congress organization. He was not one of those who wanted to see the Congress lose its powers but repeated his earlier warning, that if this alignment was pushed ahead, the Congress was bound to be ruined. He wanted to draw a clear distinction between the movement for national medium and the movement for official language. In this context he warned the Government of India that they were committing a great wrong by giving a provincial movement the advantage of Parliamentary support. Calling for the removal of the date-line for introduction of Hindi, Rajaji emphasised that the fixing of a date-line was mortgaging of India's future which "we had no right to do." He pointed out that if a date-line was set even at 2,000 A.D. "we had to make preliminary preparations even from now on, which was again regulating the future which we had no right to do."

Rebutting the argument that Hindi was sought to be introduced to promote unity, Rajaji said that "unity" was not "uniformity" and the attempts of the Hindi enthusiasts to impose that language was born of a military

mentality to achieve uniformity by regulation. He declared that the very movement for supporting Hindi had given rise to a new stimulus to other regional languages in the country. He asserted that any movement for national medium should be propagated by those who did not speak the language as languages could be spread only with concurrence and not compulsion. He envisaged a time when one of the national languages would become the all-India language but then, he said, it would be used as a matter of duty and not pride. The attempt of the Government to feed the pride of a particular section of the people was not good and it was better to have a sense of humility, he added.

Messages

Messages wishing the conference success, were received from among others, Dr. M. R. Jayakar, Dr. C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar, Sir Mirza Ismail, Dr. D. D. Karve, Sir Samuel Ranganadhan, General Cariappa and Prof. Anant Karnekar.

Sir Mirza Ismail, in his message, said :

It has been a great disappointment to many that the Congress failed to give the right lead to the country on the language question. There is a perceptible lack of courage and imagination in its latest resolution on the subject.

Two questions are in our minds—that of a *common* language and that of an *official* language. The former is naturally desired ; it is a tremendous advantage to a nation. Is there in India a language in which the people of quite different and most widely separated races and languages and at the same time, of varying levels of education, can easily communicate with each other ? It is obvious that Hindi can never serve this purpose. It is the language of a section of the people, albeit a large one, and is quite alien to the rest, the more because it is so highly Sanskritised. It is a worthy study for all, but cannot

be a means of universal communication. No one would suggest that Urdu, with its Persianised quality, could be a common language. It seems to me, however, that Hindustani might, in a considerable degree, meet this need. It is midway between Hindi and Urdu, is easily picked up, and is already understood and spoken by people of all classes nearly everywhere in India. This was Mahatma Gandhi's view. I am only reiterating it and trying to emphasise the soundness of his judgment in the light of recent happenings. The State might encourage the use of Hindustani and make it more and more popular. This could be done without any insistence or fixing any date and without inpinging on the other languages. The process would indeed be a natural one, a development of present familiarity, and the cinema will continue to be an effective agent.

But I doubt if anyone would seriously suggest that even Hindustani could be a common language in *education*. In schools, the regional language is, and always will be, the natural and necessary medium of teaching ; but in high schools an adequate knowledge of English must be insisted upon, since pupils ought to be able to supplement their vernacular text books by the study of books in English. In College classes the medium of instruction, and of study, should, in my opinion, be English.

The next-best lecturing language would be the pupils' mother-tongue, and this has been adopted in some places, and is aimed at in some others. But this seems to me to be a wrong policy, since none of these languages is adequate, and since this system handicaps the pupils in the further study of English books which is essential for them, and since classes very frequently contain students of different mother-tongues. Hindi is completely unsuitable in places where it is not the mother-tongue.

What then of the *Official language* ? (a) In the various States : It seems natural and right that in all subordinate

offices the regional language should be used ; this is particularly desirable in those that deal with revenue. But in the Secretariats and Departmental offices the language should be English. This has long been the successful practice in Mysore.

(b) At the Centre, English should continue to be the official language for external as well as internal purposes. I fear that the replacement of Hindi by English will demand a high price in provincialism and in the limitation of international contacts.

Warning against neglect of English

Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar in his message said, " the elimination or neglect of English from misplaced motives or prejudices or local patriotism will be a definite disservice to the cause of culture and higher education and research and further, will develop needless jealousies and antagonism between State and State. In saying this, however, I am not unaware of the great usefulness of a knowledge of Hindi nor do I subscribe to the misguided activities of separationist groups. "

The delegates to the conference included Mr. Premnath Bajaj, Dr. Ruthnaswami, Mr. A. Subbiah, Mr. Madhusudan Mahanty, Sardar Ganga Singh, Mr. E. V. K. Sampath, M.P., and Mr. V. P. Raman.

The languages represented were Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu, Oriya, Kanarese, Assamese, Maithili, Punjabi, Sindhi, Gujarati, Marathi and Bengali.

HINDI ENTHUSIASTS' ATTITUDE

Fanaticism should be fought against

Speaking at a reception accorded to him by a representative gathering of South Indians in Calcutta, Mr. Rajagopalachari put forth a spirited defence for the retention of English as all-India language for official purposes and lashed out against the Hindi enthusiasts who were attempt-

ing to force Hindi on the non-Hindi-speaking people. He called upon the people to " stand up and fight ".

Mr. C. S. Rangaswami presided.

A welcome address on behalf of the Tamil Manavar Manram was presented to Rajaji and representatives of various South Indian cultural organisations welcomed him.

Rajaji spoke in English for about an hour. The entire hall was packed to capacity.

Paying a high tribute to efficiency of the Indian administrative machinery, Mr. Rajagopalachari said that " ours was the best in Asia, second only to that of the United Kingdom. " This administrative machinery of ours, he said, had contributed to the unity of the country. The Central Government's attempt to impose Hindi on everyone would disrupt this unity. He therefore, asked the people that if they wanted to preserve the unity of India at such a vital juncture they must " unhesitatingly and without any reserve " vote for the retention of English as the Union official language. He said all major Indian national languages could be adopted as State languages in the different areas so that there would be complete unanimity between the people and the Government in those areas, leaving the Central Government to transact business in English. This, he said, would not interfere with the growing democracy in the country.

" Spirit of Isolationism "

Rajaji said it was time that people rallied together in the fight against " the spirit of isolationism " propagated by the Hindi protagonists who said that English was " foreign ". Not realising their limitations the supporters of Hindi had led themselves to believe that Hindi could be made acceptable to everyone in the country and were shouting about Hindi. If this was continued, he warned them that the people in South India could shout with

double the vigour and force and categorically state that if English was foreign, then Hindi was also foreign to them.

Refuting the argument that adherence to English would mean subservience to a foreign language, Mr. Rajagopalachari reiterated that he was advocating the adoption of English because of the intrinsic value of that language and also due to the fact that the latest and modern scientific knowledge and advances were available in the English language. He said "Modern scientific knowledge was explosive and rapid advances have been achieved in various fields and we in India could keep abreast of them only by reading English books. We cannot read second-hand translations in Hindi, which is dangerous." He then advanced the argument that knowledge could only come from original works and one could not afford to commit mistakes in science and technology. Rajaji held that modern knowledge could be acquired through the medium of the language of the people who contributed to that knowledge. "There is no looseness about it and it was an accepted fact that modern scientific knowledge had grown with English."

Declaring that he was advocating the adoption of English as the most convenient vehicle for conveying their thoughts briefly and precisely, Rajaji said that the supporters of Hindi were trying to achieve the impossible. He observed that if one considered the whole matter calmly and with clarity of vision, they would realise the limitations of their language and correct the errors in the future.

Unwise Ambition

Rajaji pointed out that not realising this, the supporters of Hindi were trying their best to make Hindi the pre-eminent language in India which the educated and other sections of the people should speak. At least, this was the hope of the Hindi-speaking people, which was a wrong approach to the whole problem. He said that even Hindi-

speaking people who speak different dialects had conspired together to force Hindi on non-Hindi speaking people, an ambition which speakers of no other language entertained.

Continuing, Mr. Rajagopalachari said that the choice of English did not mean subordination to any foreign language. Through the medium of English, which was spoken by " a large number of people in India one could read of the latest advances in modern knowledge." Modern knowledge was moving so fast that we could not lose time in translations. " Every minute something or other was being invented or propagated and we have to keep ahead of them all by studying the latest literature on those subjects."

Concluding, Rajaji said that the national languages sould be adopted as State languages and it was merely the constitutional structure which governs all India through the medium of English. With different State languages to complete the link and identity between the people and Government in the States, the use of English as official Union language would not interfere with the democracy in India.

—*The Hindu*, 10-3-58.

"SINGLE NATIONAL LANGUAGE NOT ESSENTIAL"—ROY

TIME-LIMIT FOR HINDI UNNECESSARY

CALCUTTA, March 19.

Dr. B. C. Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal, pleaded for re-thinking on the language issue and said: Pending this, no language should be forced upon any other linguistic area in the country.

Speaking on a non-official resolution on the subject in the State Assembly, Dr. Roy said that the framers of the

Constitution were obsessed with the idea that one language was necessary for the unity of India.

He did not think, he said, that the unity of a country was affected because of multiple languages. He cited the example of Russia and Canada where there were more than one language as national language. In Switzerland, Dr. Roy said, they had given the status of a national language to Romansch, which was the language of one per cent of the population there.

India, Dr. Roy said, was a polyglot country having variety of people with culture and tradition based on Aryan, Dravidian and Mongolian languages. In such a country, the question of having one national language only was a difficult problem. It was possible to have in a country like India more than one national language, he said.

> Referring to Hindi, Dr. Roy said even if it was to be accepted as the official language of the Union, this language should be adequately developed and until such time as it was done, the Parliament should by law provide for the continuance of English as the official language. There should not be any fixed time-limit in this regard.
>
> Dr. Roy said that the State Assembly should also enact a law so as to make Bengali the State Language.

Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, leader of the Praja Socialist Party, said that it was a false cry to say that the unity of India would be jeopardised if one language was not made the national language of India. Unity of India, he said, would be disrupted by the forcible imposition of Hindi and Mr. Nehru's name would be recorded in history as the greatest disrupter of India's unity in this respect.

FIVE NATIONAL LANGUAGES

> Dr. Ghosh suggested while the regional languages should be allowed to develop, there should be five

national languages in India, namely, Bengali, Tamil, Marathi, Gujerati and Hindi. Otherwise, he said, India would be disintegrated by this forcible imposition of a particular language on the people.

Dr. Ghosh characterised the imposition of Hindi as " domination of inferior intellect over the intellectuals," and said Hindi-speaking areas had not been able to produce a talented man either in the field of literature, science and art or in politics, over the past hundred years.

He said that the arrogance of the Hindi-speaking people resulted in alienation of non-Hindi-speaking people on this issue. He suggested tolerance on the part of Hindi speaking people and development of the Hindi language. Meanwhile there should not be any time limit about the continuance of English, although he said English could not be continued for all time to come.

Dr. Ghosh pleaded for introduction of Bengali as the State language and language for medium of instruction in primary, secondary and university stages of education in Bengal.

—*Indian Express*—21-3-58.

Transliteration of Tamil Phonemes* into English

VOWELS

அ	—	a	(as in among)
ஆ	—	a:	(„ calm)
இ	—	i	(„ sit)
ஈ	—	i:	(„ machine)
உ	—	u	(„ full)
ஊ	—	u:	(„ rule)
எ	—	e	(„ *fed*)
ஏ	—	e:	(„ able)
ஐ	—	ai	(„ aisle)
ஒ	—	o	(„ opinion)
ஓ	—	o:	(„ opium)
ஔ	—	au	(„ now)

CONSONANTS

				Hints re: articulation
Hard[1] (Plosive)	க	—	k	(as in king, angle, alhambra)
	ச	—	c	(„ church, angel, calcium)
	ட	—	t:	(„ card ?)....Retroflex - articulate with **blade** of tongue.
	த	—	th	(„ threat, this, thick)....dental.
	ப	—	p	(„ pipe, amber)
	ற	—	t	(„ atlas, sunday, arrears)..Retroflex- articulate with **tip** of tongue.
Soft (Nasal)	ங	—	ng	(„ sing)....velar n
	ஞ	—	nj	(„ angel)....palatal n
	ண	—	n:	(„ urn ?)....Retroflex n - articulate with **blade** of tongue.
	ந	—	nh	(„ anthem)....dental n
	ம	—	m	(„ mate)
	ன	—	n	(„ enter)....Retroflex n - articulate with **tip** of tongue.
Medium (non-nasal continuant)	ய	—	y	(„ yard)
	ர	—	r	(„ red)
	ல	—	l	(„ leave)....Alveolar l - articulate with **tip** of tongue.
	வ	—	v	(„ very)
	ழ	—	l-	(„ ?)....Retroflex l - articulate with **blade** of tongue.
	ள	—	l:	(„ hurl)....Alveolar l - articulate with **blade** of tongue.
Auxiliary[2] (ஆய்தம்)	ஃ	—	x	(„ ahead)

* The Tamil phonemes may for practical purposes be treated as having single allophones only, except in the case of the hard consonants which have four allophones each, as shown in note 1 on the reverse.

1. The Phonemes, classified as *hard,* have normally an *unaspirated unvoiced* value but acquire the following modified values if preceded by a consonant :—

   (a) a *slightly aspirated* unvoiced value, if preceded by a *plosive or hard consonant.*

   e.g., பக்கம் – is pronounced pakkham, not pakkam

   (b) an unaspirated but *voiced* value, if preceded by a *nasal or soft consonant* :—

   e.g., பங்கம் – is pronounced pangam, not pankam
   பஞ்சம் – „ panjam, not pancam,

   (c) a *fricative* value if preceded by a *non-nasal continuant or medium consonant or by the auxiliary consonant.*

   e.g., பல்கலை becomes palhalai not palkalai
   எஃகு „ ehhu not exku

NOTE.—In most present day dialects, the plosive assumes a fricative —sometimes a voiced—value after a vowel also, except in the case of t : which retains its normal unaspirated, unvoiced value even after a vowel.

2. The value of this *auxiliary* phoneme, which must *always* be followed by a hard consonant, was variable during the time of Tholkappiam; it acquired a phonetic value identical with that of the following hard consonant, vide 1 (c) above,

   e.g., எஃகு became ehhu

   Later its value became fixed as h, irrespective of the following consonant.

Note. (i) With a view to keep down transliteration to the minimum it is suggested that, in the case of Tamil words which are already in free use in English (e.g., Tamil = Thamil), or where it is unnecessary to indicate the exact pronunciation, accurate transliteration need not be resorted to. In the case of proper names etc., which occur more than once in the same article, the transliteration need be shown only once in brackets side by side with a free English adaptation, the latter alone being used subsequently, except of course in cases where such a procedure will lead to ambiguity,

   e.g., வேங்கடம் = Vengadam (Ve : ngkat : am).

(ii) Reference may be made to *Tamil Culture,* Vol. IV, No. 1 (January 1955 issue) pp. 58-73 for fuller details.